

**An Analysis of Medieval Schemes of Authorship in the Edinburgh University  
Library Manuscript 184 *The Brut or the Chronicles of England*  
with a transcription and glossary of the text**

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**An Analysis of Medieval Schemes of Authorship in the Edinburgh University Library  
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This thesis consists of three chapters of critical analysis of the Edinburgh University Library Manuscript 184 version of the *Brut*, a description and edition of that manuscript, and a glossary.

The Middle English Prose *Brut* is divided by modern scholars into two parts, the first consisting of legendary material, and the second of historical material. However, this division does not reflect the medieval conception of the *Brut*, nor does it allow the modern reader to address the many structures of meaning which form the narrative. This thesis uses Edinburgh University Library MS 184, in conjunction with the edition of the *Brut* published in 1906 and 1909 by Frederick Brie, to demonstrate the symbolism primarily inherent in the legendary material, which may appear to a modern reader to be simply a collection of legendary stories.

The EUL MS 184 text of the *Brut* is organised into several layers of meaning, and more than one tactic is used in order to make the aim of the text clear and memorable to the reader. It is also constructed so as to be available to readers at every stage of learning and ability, as well as the illiterate audience, to whom the text may have been effectively narrated. Numerical structures, both within the narrative and in the structure of the manuscript itself, are one way in which the text conveys a depth of meaning beyond the actual stories it relates. Characters are related to each other in a structure which reflects not only a general theme of growth and learning within the narrative, but also represents such growth and learning in mankind in general. Beginning before the advent of Christianity to Britain, the EUL MS 184 version of the *Brut* traces the effect Christianity has upon the British, again representing mankind, which is demonstrated in the actions, and specifically in the type of punishment assigned to each infraction of another major theme, that of justice.

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## **Declaration**

I declare that this thesis is entirely my own work, excepting the instances which are noted, and that no part of this thesis has been previously submitted for any degree.

## Introduction: The *Brut*

The Middle English Prose *Brut* was one of the most popular works of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It played a major role in the developing literary and historical traditions of the Middle Ages, and was of considerable influence within the realms of nationalism and politics. It was used as a source for the history of Britain until the end of the sixteenth century. In fact it was regarded as “a standard history that defined and created a sense of England’s past, its national identity, and its destiny.”<sup>1</sup> One primary application was as a didactic tool, a means of presenting moral truths in a manner which would be both understandable and memorable. But the *Brut* is perhaps better known as a work of propaganda; considered a faithful record of British lineage, additions and alterations were made regularly in the course of its transcription, and it was used, most noticeably by Edward I to justify English claims to Scotland, but also to indicate support for Thomas of Lancaster in EUL MS. 184.<sup>2</sup>

Although the text of the *Brut* is continuous, a contemporary reader may perceive a division in the material, between what may be considered “legendary” and that which is “historical.” In this thesis, “legendary material” will refer to the first part of the E, from the first chapter up to and including the chapter of Cadwalader, including material which, to a modern reader, might seem more appropriate to a collection of folklore than a work of history - stories constructed in order to demonstrate a certain “truth”, but which do not necessarily represent actions which actually occurred. Such “truths” may be, as in the case of Greek myths, explicated by stories: for example, place-names are often derived from characters who

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<sup>1</sup> Matheson (1998:29)

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh University Library Manuscript 184. Hereafter the sigil E will be used to designate this manuscript version of the *Brut*.

were of significance in a particular area. In one sense, “truth” in the E *Brut* is the existence of cities, their names, and the names of rivers, and countries. However, in the *Brut*, the primary “truth” is God’s will for humanity, and his subsequent participation in daily life. The explanation for the derivation of names from characters, and events in the narrative, is of secondary importance to the role their establishment plays in the overall plan of God for humanity.

By contrast, the material which comprises the ensuing “historical” section of the manuscript is so called because the material it contains is verifiable in a modern sense, and does not contain “legendary” characteristics such as magical creatures and characters. It begins with the Anglo-Saxon king Osbryht and extends, in the E, to Henry VI. This division, between fact (historical) and fiction (legendary), would not have been recognised by the medieval scribe of E; for him the truth of the events represented by the historical section of the text is as valid as the truth represented by legendary material. While the modern division of the manuscript according to truth is invalid, it is likely the medieval scribe and reader would perceive a difference in the narrative at the end of the legendary material; this difference may be attributed to a change in narrative detail. Most obviously, the lack of magic in the historical material, and the absence of mythical creatures, as well as a sense of recitation of events without adherence to the structures of meaning present in the legendary material marks its delineation as a different section of the narrative. This division is a result of a different approach to material contained in the historical section.<sup>3</sup> Because the terms “legendary” and “historical” are useful for general reference, they will be applied in this thesis, with the acknowledgement that they are strictly modern terms.

Modern scholarship on the Middle English prose *Brut* focuses primarily upon the historical material, including the fourteenth-and fifteenth-century Continuations. It is true that,

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<sup>3</sup> The division at this point, perceived by a medieval audience, would have accorded with a medieval concept of time and the changes necessary in the discussion of history which parallel the progress of humanity. See below on the medieval concept of history pp.26ff., and pp.45ff. for a discussion of the development of humanity within dual and tripartite divisions of time.

unlike the legendary material which tends to be transmitted largely unaltered, the historical material provides political propaganda which is valuable for its contemporary interpretation of the era between the reign of Edward III and that of Henry VI. By contrast, because the first chapters of the *Brut* involve legendary material, this initial section is often dismissed as mere entertainment. While the historical value of the Continuations is undisputed, the division and literary evaluation of this material without a concurrent understanding of the legendary material can lead to conclusions concerning the *Brut* tradition as a whole which are quite different from those intended by the author and subsequent scribes. Because the historical material has been so thoroughly discussed, this thesis will focus primarily on the legendary material interpreted as a “historical” text, according to the corresponding medieval concept, which will consequently redeem the legendary material both for its independent significance as a British Creation myth, and also in its essential relationship to the historical events and Continuations.

Additionally, because the *Brut* has enjoyed considerable recent analysis from a historical perspective, it is logical that a thesis which purports to address the “truth” of the text as a whole should attempt to balance awareness of historical value with the long-neglected meaning made available by the application of medieval literary symbolism, particularly since the text, used primarily as propaganda, is not particularly useful as a historical source. In this case, the “literary” aspects involve those which a modern reader considers the themes, aims, and imagery of the text, and the symbols by which a medieval reader might access them. Although it may seem a perpetuation of the misleading concept of a “literary” or “historical” text to apply these terms, they are nonetheless vital to a coherent explanation of the aspects of the text addressed in this paper.

Indeed, the categorisation of the *Brut* as a work of history or literature is itself an anachronism. Since there was no precise and definite scholarly division of material into categories involving modern concepts of objective truth or fiction until the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the categorisation and analysis of the *Brut* as a work classified in terms exclusive to either history

or literature means that the work is misrepresented.<sup>4</sup> This thesis involves a revision of the method of reading the *Brut* as a medieval text, from both approaches since “even in annals of chronicles, bare and brief recitations of ‘what happened’, classical references and rhetorical methods of presentation call attention to the deeply literary organization of much early historical writing.”<sup>5</sup> The process of becoming reacquainted with medieval perceptions of reading and classification of texts, will establish the *Brut* as a text which contains both literary and historical characteristics, but which may not be adequately contained by either category.

The title of the manuscript, *The Brut or the Chronicle of England* leads one to question the nature of the document, since its self-description as a chronicle seems to suggest that the intent will be merely a recitation of events, when in fact it is obviously a much more complex text. In fact the medieval delineation of chronicle and history is not so solid that a modern reader is able to make assumptions concerning the material of a document, solely on the basis of its title including the word “chronicle”. In one case, “chronicles [...] were defined as being brief and plainly written accounts of events, organized - as the term would suggest - chronologically, while histories [...] were defined as being fuller, more integrated, more interpretive, or more stylistically elegant accounts.”<sup>6</sup> According to this definition, a chronicle should involve record-keeping, with no elaboration of the material, and certainly no intention to convey a moral lesson. Eckhardt states, however, that neither these guidelines, nor those of other eminent medieval scholars were strictly adhered to, a fact that was recognised by the authors themselves.<sup>7</sup> Therefore in her essay, as in this thesis, the term “chronicle” is used more

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<sup>4</sup> Partner (1985). However, according to Caroline Eckhardt, the three divisions of narrative by Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologiae* involve categories relating to truth or fiction: “Histories are concerned with true things that happened; works of realistic fiction, with things that did not happen; and works of imaginative fiction, with things that neither happened nor could happen, because they are contrary to nature.” She goes on to state that these categories were not strictly adhered to by medieval scholars, but it is interesting to note, in relation to the discussion below of the medieval definition of history, that there were varying definitions of “history” and what exactly is the nature of “truth”. Eckhardt (1991:188).

<sup>5</sup> Goldstein (1993:89)

<sup>6</sup> Eckhardt (1991:188-89). Eckhardt cites Gervase of Canterbury’s definitions of chronicle and history.

<sup>7</sup> Eckhardt (1991:190)

broadly, “to denote any medieval narrative that presents an extensive account of events regarded as historical”.<sup>8</sup>

Research in *Brut* scholarship reveals a wealth of available original manuscripts to facilitate study. However, while over 180 Middle English manuscripts are available in Britain, Continental Europe, Australia, and the United States, only a handful of these have been edited, and these are scattered among various universities in the United States, Australia, and Britain.<sup>9</sup> The authoritative published edition of the Middle English prose *Brut* is a compilation of several manuscripts. Dr. Frederick Brie cites three manuscripts from which he obtains a complete and detailed main narrative of the *Brut*: Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS. Rawlinson B.171 and Douce 323, and Trinity College Dublin MS. 490. For songs and ballads, he also uses British Library MS. Harley 4690 and London College of Arms MS. Arundel LVIII. For the Continuations, Brie uses 22 manuscripts, each a fragment or a section, which he collates into a single text. Brie's edition was published in two volumes by the Early English Text Society in 1906 and 1909. Although it is therefore not a text contemporaneous with E, and would never have had a medieval readership, it is useful as a point of comparison with E for basic textual organisation and discussion of the narrative.

The first chapters of Brie's edition generally parallel E in the number of entries and detail of information. However, once the narrative reaches historical events, and in particular the Continuations, the two versions begin to perceptibly diverge. As it approaches the date of authorship, Brie's text increases in detail and volume. In fact, half of the first volume and the entirety of the second, larger volume consists of historical and Continuation material in Brie's edition. While the narrative of E similarly increases the detail and length of the chapters, it does not provide the detail of Brie's edition. Brie's Continuations are more extensive than those of the E; they include a more complete chapter for Henry VI and Edward IV, while the Edinburgh manuscript ends in the middle of Henry VI's reign. Generally speaking, the most

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<sup>8</sup> Eckhardt (1991:190) The medieval concept of history is thoroughly discussed below.

<sup>9</sup> There are also available forty-nine Anglo-Norman Bruts, twenty Latin Bruts and thirteen early printed editions. Matheson (1998:55,139)



common Continuations extend to four dates: 1377, 1419, 1430, and 1461, with 1434 and 1445 occurring less frequently. The E concludes with introduction of the reign of Henry VI. This period coincides most closely with two of the Continuations, those of 1419 and 1430.

The 1977 Doctoral thesis by Lister A. Matheson at the University of Glasgow is a more recent analysis of two Middle English Prose *Brut* manuscripts, which includes the presentation of the Glasgow University Library, MSS. Hunterian T.3.12 and V.5.13 versions on pages facing their transcription. In his thesis Matheson examines several manuscripts of the *Brut* and devises a system of categorisation which includes E. Matheson classifies all available manuscripts into four main categories, according to the “type of continuations found to constitute the text”, and not according to differences in text material from one manuscript to the next, either within the same group or between groups. According to this system, E is unusual even within the context of all *Bruts*. Matheson categorises E as a member of the “peculiar texts”, a group of manuscripts which differ significantly not only from the first three categories, but also from each other.<sup>10</sup>

Peculiar texts are also characterised by their connection to the “Latin *Bruts*”<sup>11</sup>, and the individual aspect of each manuscript’s form resulting from independent scribal alteration.<sup>12</sup> Matheson also states that the category of Peculiar Texts are “often of historical and literary importance, consisting of individual reworkings of *Brut* texts, works based on or adapted from the *Brut*, and combinations of the *Brut* with adaptations of other works. Many such texts are unique”.<sup>13</sup> E is also unusual with regard to its brevity; Matheson categorises the EUL MS 184

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<sup>10</sup>Matheson (1977:187)

<sup>11</sup> According to Charles L. Kingsford, the Latin *Bruts* were in fact translated into Latin from English, “for the use of those to whom the ancient literary tradition still appealed.”Kingsford (1913:310-312)

<sup>12</sup> Matheson (1984:213) Matheson’s three other categories are the Common Version, which includes the basic *Brut* text to 1333 plus all Continuations to 1461, the Extended Version, which incorporates an added exordium and details from another current chronicle, and the Abbreviated Version, which is a “shortened cross between the Common and Extended Versions”.

<sup>13</sup> Matheson classifies the members of the Peculiar Version category according to three main criteria: “individual reworkings of *Brut* texts, works based on or adapted from the *Brut*, and combinations of the *Brut* with adaptations of other works.” Matheson (1998:8)

as a member of the group “Very Brief Works Based on the *Brut*”.<sup>14</sup> One particular characteristic of these shorter versions is the chapter of the thirty-three kings, in which the genealogy of thirty-three kings is listed without any detail of the kings or events that occurred during their reigns.<sup>15</sup> According to the above description, E is categorised as “PV-1429”, a Peculiar Version text extending to 1429.<sup>16</sup>

The fidelity with which the legendary material has been handed down from its composition in the twelfth century to the E is a good indication of the importance of this section of material for the audience of the *Brut*. In fact, it is likely that the popularity of the legendary material, rather than the historical material, created a demand for the text in the Middle Ages. It is such popularity which caused a text to be copiously copied, and the impressive number of surviving manuscripts therefore indicates the *Brut* was a broadly popular text. Indeed, it has been suggested by critics that the *Brut*'s long-term popularity rested with the legendary material.<sup>17</sup>

#### **i. Background of the *Brut***

##### **Legendary Typology and the “War of Historiography”**

The legendary material of the *Brut* has a long history, beginning with the Welsh historians, Gildas and Nennius. It is primarily these authors, writing in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries respectively, who are credited with compiling texts of history which are influential for their material as well as their approach. The tradition of these early works develops into the origin myth, which “from the start, had the potential to function in the service of ideologies of racial or national unity”.<sup>18</sup> The settlement of many countries is supported by a foundation myth; although each tradition develops specifically with respect to each country's own identity, there is a common pattern. The structure typically presents one heroic ancestor, forced to leave his

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<sup>14</sup> Matheson (1998:76)

<sup>15</sup> EUL II. 470-89

<sup>16</sup> Matheson (1998:316)

<sup>17</sup> Taylor (1987:116)

<sup>18</sup> Goldstein (1993:118-19)

homeland; his exile involves the enaction of a series of common typological actions such as previously unsuccessful invasions of the country in question prior to the arrival of this ancestor-hero, the subsequent conquest of a wilderness, and the establishment of racial primacy.

Written evidence of the *Brut* legend per se extends to the 12<sup>th</sup> century and the *Historia Regum Britanniae* by Geoffrey of Monmouth. The legend of Brute purports to establish an origin history for the people of Britain, and as such, E presents a specifically fifteenth-century southern English view of social order. Anglocentrism is established early in any legend of Brute and his sons, with Brute's selection of London as his capital for all of Britain. The division of Britain amongst Brute's three sons provides an explanation for the establishment of Scotland and Wales as divisions of territory which Brute's younger sons inherit. It is clearly stated in the manuscript that although the younger sons were to be considered kings of their region, the concept was one of feudal overlordship, in which each regional king was subject to one king and overlord. The investment of the eldest son, Lotrine, the most direct heir to his father, at London, establishes primary authority over Britain in the southern capital.<sup>19</sup> With regard to the relative Anglocentrism of this version of the text in particular, it seems likely that the degree to which this bias is expressed would relate directly to current politics. The portrayal of the Scots in the 15<sup>th</sup>-century E represents a view which is determined by two hundred years of skirmishes and battles across the Scottish border, and is therefore particularly antagonistic.

Edward I's invasions of Scotland, described in relative detail in E, are justified by this early establishment of London as capital of all Britain, and therefore warranted the righteous English claim to all of Britain. This claim is further supported by a detailed presentation of the events surrounding the death of Alexander, king of Scotland:

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<sup>19</sup> In fact, although this is the established mythological way in which Britain is divided into England, Scotland, and Wales, the pages describing this arrangement have been removed in E. However the authorial opinion of the Scots and Welsh is clear in later, "historical" chapters of the text.

And thenne fill grete debate in Scotland afir the deth of Alexandre, king of the lande, for diuers lordes of Scotland and of England clamed to be heire to Alexander. And the Scottys put yt in juggement of king Edward. And anone he made se the coronycles of Scotland, wherby thei fonde that Bailol, a lord of Fraunce, was next heire of blode to Alexander, and also that the lande of Scotlande was holden of the king of England by homage and fealte, wherfore king Edward awarded that Bailol schulde be king.<sup>20</sup>

The Scots consult the English king when there is no clear heir, and he in turn consults their own chronicles. Edward thus establishes the precedent of consulting chronicles in search of historical truth, and also lends weight to his own reliance on the *Brut* as a set of precedents for the English. Significantly, the Scots themselves turn to Edward in their confusion and more importantly, this “Scottish chronicle” states that Scotland “was holden” of the king of England, and this revelation immediately adds credit to the English claim as well as presenting an obstacle to any potential Scottish claims to the throne.

It is the claim of the *Brut*, and other origin myths such as that of Scota and Gaythelos, the founders of Scotland,<sup>21</sup> that their status as “histories” proves any contemporary political pretensions. A narrative may easily be “interpreted” to make a specific point, and it is therefore unsurprising to find texts of English and Scottish origin which present conflicting accounts of events leading to the justification of an important political claim. E is a result of this “war of historiography”, itself due to the specific desire by Edward I for such a text.<sup>22</sup> In fact Edward I sent letters to monasteries requesting them to make amendments to chronicles,<sup>23</sup> which would then act as “proof” of his sovereignty over Scotland. In fact, the chronicle of England written by Walter of Coventry is almost entirely a piece of propaganda in favour of Edward. Like the Scots’ decision to seek Edward’s advice with regard to the inheritance of their throne in E, Walter’s chronicle “prove[s] Edward’s claim to the overlordship of Scotland by detailing instances of Scottish kings doing homage to English kings”.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> E II. 2308-18.

<sup>21</sup> See Goldstein (1993:110-118) for a discussion of the Scottish foundation myth.

<sup>22</sup> Goldstein (1993:127)

<sup>23</sup> Stones (1981:329)

<sup>24</sup> Stepsis (1972:53)

Although it is known that Edward I intended to affect the perception of history by applying his influence to the writers and scribes of historical documents, in fact, “chronicles containing government propaganda were atypical of the historiographical tradition of medieval England”. Antonia Gransden states that this characteristic of medieval texts is present only during “times of crisis”, specifically when “the monarchy resorted to propaganda to obtain moral reinforcement” and particularly when the ruler perceived the country to be “threatened by enemies at home.”<sup>25</sup> This situation corresponds to Edward’s concept of the relationship between England and Scotland. His own concept of England as the ruling nation meant that the common raids back and forth across the Scottish border were a serious threat, and created the image of Scots as a dangerous, immediate enemy. Propaganda would be intended to support his raids into Scotland, and to encourage general support of the king.

These concepts of sovereignty did not appear for the first time in the *Brut*. Geoffrey of Monmouth, compiling a text of British history, uses as his source Welsh histories, and with their legends incorporates a sense of sovereignty. His perception, however is not one of regional nationalism at the expense of the country as a whole; in the *Historia Regum Britanniae* “though there are three regions, there is only one Kingdom”.<sup>26</sup> Geoffrey’s text is the most influential on the *Brut*, since it is the single source of the legendary material, but it is also interesting to note that his intention to present a unified Britain is altered with its manipulation by Edward I in his efforts to “prove” the dominance of one region, England, over the other nations.

### **Geoffrey of Monmouth**

Geoffrey of Monmouth, an Augustinian canon, is credited with the first written compilation of British folklore, which itself is later absorbed into the *Brut* tradition. The *Historia Regum Britanniae*, written in Latin c.1135, is regarded by some as valuable simply as one of the most fanciful works of fiction, an entertaining elaboration of the compilation of

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<sup>25</sup> Gransden (1975:377)

<sup>26</sup> Roberts (1974:37)

regional legends, written during the Middle Ages.<sup>27</sup> In fact, it was one of the most influential and popular works of the Middle Ages.<sup>28</sup> Although Geoffrey himself claims as a source a mysterious book,<sup>29</sup> the sources which are distinguishable are such well-known historians as Nennius, Gildas, Bede, Henry of Huntingdon, and William of Malmesbury. Geoffrey arranges his material according to narrative characteristics generally common to folk tales, and this tradition is conveyed into the Middle English Prose *Brut*. For example, a rivalry between brothers or cousins, often with a mother intervening, is common to folk tales and is also a situation which occurs frequently in the legendary material of the *Brut*. Monsters in the *Historia* are derived from both folklore and specifically Christian material. The sea monster sent by God to punish a British king also appears in the *Brut*, as do monsters such as Gogmagogg, whose name is the combination of the names of two biblical demons.<sup>30</sup> Geoffrey's material may not be valuable for the information it provides concerning rulers or historical events, but its influence upon three hundred years of British writing makes it historically central to a vigorous genre of medieval literature.

Geoffrey's self-qualification as a "historian" is significant; his approach to British legendary material provides the manner of presentation for E. Although it could possibly be included in the definition of a chronicle cited above, page 5, i.e. "any medieval narrative that presents an extensive account of events regarded as historical", the structure of the *Historia* is dissimilar to a chronicle in its use of emotive language. In fact, it is his use of emotive language which establishes Geoffrey as a good medieval *historian*. As Kinghorn explains of medieval historians, "Sharp divisions into uncompromising categories is not valid when actual writers are being considered, since most historians worthy of the name combine narrative with chronicle in order to achieve an account emotionally as well as factually true." The approach

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<sup>27</sup>Hanning (1966:121)

<sup>28</sup>Loomis (1959:75)

<sup>29</sup>Geoffrey claims that he derives his material from an already existing text, which has never been found. It is this which encouraged previous scholars to view his claims with caution and suspect that he invented such a text as a reference of authority, and actually created the *Historia* entirely himself.

<sup>30</sup>Tatlock (1950:3)

of Geoffrey of Monmouth toward his work as such a historian is transferred to the *Brut* along with the actual material. By the fourteenth century, when the *Brut* was reaching the height of its popularity, this elaboration of fact with convincing emotion had become so common an aspect of history that, in modern terms, "fact was easily blended with fiction in order that continuity might be achieved."<sup>31</sup> It is in this manner that the E version may be considered as a work of history.

Geoffrey's text is credited with several literary innovations. In addition to the novel compilation of earlier, largely oral material, with that of Gildas and Nennius, Geoffrey's reputed talent for elaboration is evident concerning the characters of Arthur and Merlin.<sup>32</sup> His portrayal of Arthur is considered to be the impetus for the creation of Arthurian legend, and the story of King Leir also makes its first written appearance in Geoffrey's *Historia*.<sup>33</sup> In addition, R.S. Loomis credits Geoffrey with the creation of "a person from the name of a place" and the subsequent story "to account for the latter," in other words, the committal to writing of the process of place-name derivation.<sup>34</sup> Although it is unlikely that Geoffrey was indeed the first to conceive of this kind of story, his work is likely to be the first text popular enough to make it available to a wide medieval audience. Geoffrey is also credited with the introduction of the political prophecy in English literature; presented by Merlin, these prophecies could "prove" that a king had been pre-ordained by God, and were also used for centuries as "proof" of the superiority of one people over another.<sup>35</sup> The Continuations of the *Brut*, written as much as three hundred years later, include references to such prophecies in the legendary material which, for example, justify England's invasion and conquest of Scotland and establish the genealogy of kings as pre-ordained.

Most of Geoffrey's successors, including Thomas Higden, author of the *Polychronicon*, another popular chronicle of the later Middle Ages, indicate that they accept

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<sup>31</sup> Kinghorn (1969:132)

<sup>32</sup> Loomis (1959:83)

<sup>33</sup> Tatlock (1950:3)

<sup>34</sup> Loomis (1959:82)

<sup>35</sup> Keeler (1946:11)



the majority of the material of Geoffrey's *Historia* as true. The main point of contention for Higden is the claim that King Arthur will return, and in fact, many of the Latin chroniclers who accept the majority of Geoffrey's text also reject this concept.<sup>36</sup> Later Latin chroniclers influenced by Geoffrey's *Historia* do not actually copy the material itself, but use it, as mentioned above, as political propaganda. One example, the *Vita Edwardi*, written by an anonymous monk of Malmesbury, chronicles the years between 1307 and 1327. The *Historia* is used in this case solely as a reference work, to explain the uprisings of the Welsh during the reign of Edward II. Like the English claim to Scotland and the Stone of Scone from the ancient division of Britain by Brutus, the reference in the *Vita Edwardi* is to the Welsh claim as the original Britons, whom Merlin prophesies will reclaim all of the country. This use of legendary material as a source of evidence to justify political claims is another way in which Geoffrey's work was used as the template for the *Brut*.

The material in the *Historia Regum Britanniae* ends with Cadwalader, at whose death the narrative of the *Brut* continues with the succession of the Anglo-Saxon king Osbryht to the throne of Britain as a whole.<sup>37</sup> The narrative of the *Historia* is longer than E. The most frequent reduction of detail in the *Brut* involve prolix accounts of battles and sieges, and the specific names and descriptions of minor characters. However, one interesting textual difference between the *Brut* and the *Historia* is the absence of Albion and her sisters at the beginning of the latter text, and therefore the lack of an explanation for the name Albion and the presence of monsters on the island when Brute arrives. The enduring popularity of the *Historia*, and the subsequent frequency with which it was copied, ensured that it would be available to a wide audience in Britain. The alterations upon it made by Anglo-Norman scribes produced the text of the prose *Brut* as it appears in Middle English in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

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<sup>36</sup>Keeler (1946:29)

<sup>37</sup>E I. 1531



## Anglo-Norman *Bruts*

The linguistic situation in Britain after the Norman conquest becomes more complicated. Rather than the neat division of a French-speaking aristocracy and an English-speaking general populace, there existed not only a definite mingling of the two peoples, but also the rapid development of a dialect of French distinct from any of the Continental French dialects. From the thirteenth century onwards, the difference between "Insular French" and those varieties spoken on the Continent becomes progressively more marked.<sup>38</sup> In addition to this linguistic separation from the Continent, the interests of the Anglo-Normans begin to focus increasingly upon local concerns, including an early history of their island, and for this reason, Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britanniae* remained very popular and continued to be studied by contemporary scholars.<sup>39</sup>

One of the most well-known of the Anglo-Norman chronicles is that of Pierre de Langtoft, an Augustinian canon at Bridlington priory during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. His work is a chronicle of Britain's kings, extending from the naming of Britain by Brutus to the year 1307, and is thus quite similar in structure to the *Brut*. Langtoft's chronicle propagates the embellishment characteristic of Geoffrey of Monmouth's writing style, particularly his use of chivalric language, commonly used in romantic tales intended solely to entertain the French aristocracy. In the tradition of the *Brut*, Langtoft is particularly noted for his introduction of "popular elements" such as songs, ballads, and poems, which were eventually transferred into the parallel tradition which became the English Prose *Brut*,<sup>40</sup> along with his history of the reign of Edward I.<sup>41</sup> This text is of a different lineage than that which eventually produces the Middle English Prose *Brut*.

The Norman Geoffrey Gaimar composed a version of the *Historia* in Anglo-Norman, most likely for the purpose of entertaining Anglo-Norman aristocrats.<sup>42</sup> The majority of this

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<sup>38</sup>Rothwell (1975:174-176)

<sup>39</sup>Tatlock (1950:467)

<sup>40</sup>Gransden (1974:484)

<sup>41</sup> Stepsis (1972:51)

<sup>42</sup>Gransden(1974:452)

text is lost, due to general preference for the later *Roman de Brut* by another Norman poet, Wace. Also following Gaimar, Benoit de St. Maur's *Roman de Troie* is a well-known French rendition of the *Historia*, which was regarded as not only superior to that of Gaimar, but possibly even better than the popular *Roman de Brut*.<sup>43</sup> Despite the challenge offered by the *Roman de Troie*, Wace's *Roman de Brut* is the best-known text in this stage of development, and his interpretation of the *Brut* material affects the definition of the genre. His text elaborates considerably upon Geoffrey's *Historia*, adding material from other sources including oral tales acquired during his travels in the south of England.<sup>44</sup> He also considers himself a historian, and thus edits Geoffrey's *Historia* for his own audience. For example, he eliminates passages of "exaggerated sentiment," of "cruel or savage behaviour," and of "purely religious history."<sup>45</sup>

Clearly these are elements which Wace considered a detriment to the main aim of his text, which marks a significant point in the development of the *Brut* and provides the more focused form it will take in the fifteenth century. While Geoffrey's *Historia*, written in the early 12<sup>th</sup> century, was entitled to narrative embellishments, the concept of "history" for Wace, writing only shortly afterwards, incorporated a mistrust of verbal decoration. The Middle English Prose *Brut* is a descendant of this line, from Geoffrey of Monmouth to Wace, and its distinction as a chronicle is a point of note, since the *Brut* text may incorporate lavish detail, as in Brie's compilation, or may rely on a simpler manner of recitation, as in E. The concept of the "history" and thus the "historian" changes as the material of the *Brut* is inherited and interpreted by the Anglo-Norman authors; by the fifteenth century, when E was written, history had become a much more fluid concept, in which more than one method was acceptable, as we will see below.

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<sup>43</sup>Gransden (1974:456)

<sup>44</sup>Loomis (1959:97)

<sup>45</sup>Loomis (1959:96)

## The Continuations of the *Brut* and the London Chronicles

The basic *Brut* text, or the "common *Brut*", usually extends to 1333. There is a vast number of existing Continuations written by contemporary authors, which extend this text to their own day: 1377, 1419, 1430, and 1461.<sup>46</sup> The material in these Continuations affected the audience of the *Brut*: "The major Middle English translation of the *Brut*, with its derivative groups and versions [the Continuations], was even more popular than its Anglo-Norman forbear. It retained the audience that had already been established [the gentry and monastic audiences] and expanded it among the merchant class in the fifteenth century."<sup>47</sup> During the fifteenth century in particular, a strong tie was established with the London Chronicles, which focus upon the political machinations of the period, as a source for the *Brut* Continuations.<sup>48</sup> Similar to the above-mentioned Latin works, such as the *Polychronicon* by Thomas Higden and the *Vita Edwardi*, which developed directly from Geoffrey's *Historia*, these later additions often involve contemporary political issues such as yearly Parliaments, new taxes or polls, and military conflicts. Since the events they describe are written by contemporary authors of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, they have much greater detail and historical authority, in the modern sense, than the earlier material, and are often regarded by historians as the only valuable part of the *Brut*. It is for this reason that much modern scholarship on the *Brut* has centred upon these later additions.

### ii. The Narrative of E

Because Brie's text is a complete narrative of the *Brut*, his text may be used as a point of comparison for E, in order to determine where material is absent from E which is nonetheless common in the *Brut* narrative, and to offer the possibility of comparing methods

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<sup>46</sup>Brie (1906:v)

<sup>47</sup> Matheson (1998:12)

<sup>48</sup>Taylor (1987:129)

used to encourage memory.<sup>49</sup> Memory is important to the medieval writer, for its relation to moral values: “Medieval culture remained profoundly memorial [i.e. reliant upon the memory] in nature, despite the increased use and availability of books for reasons other than simple technological convenience. The primary factor in its conservation lies in the identification of memory with the formation of moral virtues.”<sup>50</sup> The central aim of the *Brut*, as with all texts of instruction in the Middle Ages,<sup>51</sup> is in its application as a moralising and didactic tool. The inclusion or omission of specific details in E and in the Brie affects interpretation, and thus the ease with which they will be remembered as moral lessons. Brie’s text of the legendary material includes more detail, which creates a mental picture for the reader; such an approach is likely to be successful in creating memory from association. In contrast, E is a text which includes less embellishment, leaving a part of the creation of the text to the reader, and allows each individual to create his or her “own” image of the text.<sup>52</sup> This action upon the text creates memory, itself a vital part of the reading process which “precede[s] understanding [and] intellection.”<sup>53</sup>

Although various manuscript versions, including Brie’s compilation and E, differ in the measure of detail of the *Brut*, by definition they include the legendary material and the same basic historical events: the Anglo-Saxon kings, the Norman kings, the reigns of Henry II, Richard I, John, Henry III, Edward I, II, and III. The basic *Brut* text ends in the middle of Edward III’s reign, and manuscripts differ noticeably in the Continuation, or series of Continuations, added to this material; while one Continuation would be added to a text

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<sup>49</sup> Brie uses two Fifteenth-century manuscripts for the legendary material: MS Rawl.B.171(Bodl.) and MS Douce 323 (Bodl.) The first leaves of the narrative are from the Douce manuscript and the remainder of the legendary material from the MS Rawl. Therefore, although it is the material in these manuscripts which is discussed in this thesis, the text will be referred to as “Brie” or “Brie’s text” since it is this compilation which has been used. I do not mean to imply that the compilation is a continuous medieval text.

<sup>50</sup> Carruthers (1990:156)

<sup>51</sup> Carruthers (1990:127)

<sup>52</sup> According to Mary J. Carruthers, this is a well-known mnemonic device in medieval literature. She cites the example of a bestiary which, not being illustrated, leaves out detail which each reader must construct for him- or herself, which in turn creates an individual’s “own mental book”. (Carruthers 1990:127).

<sup>53</sup> Carruthers (1990:43)

compiled in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century, a series of Continuations may have been added to a text which is compiled by a scribe of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, in order to present a current narrative. The legendary material of the *Brut* genre is a chronology of tales presented as the ancient history of the foundation of Britain, and as such, provides explanations for the derivation of place-names. Accordingly, the narrative of the *Brut* begins with the legendary derivation of Britain's ancient name Albion.

Dioclesian, the King of Syria, exiles his thirty-three daughters to Britain and Albyn, the eldest, names the island after herself. Albion is subsequently conquered and re-named Britain, after the Trojan Brutus, himself exiled from Troy for the murder of his father. The island appears to him as an unconquered wilderness, which is true in more than a literal sense: although the sisters have settled previously on Albion, they exist within the wilderness, as members of it, eating wild plants and animals. The sisters do not “conquer” the island; their uncivilised existence precludes any necessity to force themselves onto the island. Brute, however, must exert force over the women, their children, and their wilderness, since he must overcome the existing order and establish civilisation.

With the elimination of a population of giants which are the children of the 30 sisters, and which inhabit Albion when Brute arrives, Brute establishes both his superiority over nature itself and his legitimacy as the ruler of the island. Previous to his arrival on Albion in Brie’s text, Brute travels through the Continent, where the goddess Diana appears to him and advises him to travel west to the island which will become Albion. These pages of the narrative have been removed from E as has material describing the conquest of the giants.<sup>54</sup> As a result, the narrative skips from Brute’s decision to accept exile from Greece, the catastrophe which leads to his foundation of Britain, to the invasion of Britain by Humbar, the Hun, which occurs after

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<sup>54</sup> E ll. 142-43 It is clear from the syntax, the sense of the narrative, and the physical remains of the page that this material was originally included. Perhaps the reference to Diana, a pagan goddess, who gives Brute the vital guidance toward the island which was to become Britain, offended a reader who neglected to interpret Diana as the mouthpiece of God. See below for a discussion of the possible symbolic interpretation of pagan material.

the death of Brute, at which point Britain has already been divided into the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Wales, each ruled by one of his three sons.

Since the material concerning the inheritance of Brute's three sons has been removed from E, the primacy of England and London is left unclear. In Brie's complete narrative, however, Brute gives his second son Albonake the rule of Scotland, gives rule of Wales to his third son Cambre, but Lotryne, the "firste" son, "was crowned kyng with myche solempnete of all þe land of Brytaine."<sup>55</sup> Even though E does not clearly establish the line of inheritance through Lotrine, it is his successors who become kings of Britain. Therefore, Scotland is, as in Brie's edition, presented as the less desirable part of the kingdom.<sup>56</sup>

The legendary material includes King Leir. A comparison between the presentation of Leir in Brie's *Brut* and E provides an example of the discrepancies possible between versions of the *Brut*, due to differences in scribal approaches to the presentation of detail. The connection between the affection of Leir's three daughters for their father and the social level to which he will marry them is not as clear in E as it is in Brie. When his daughters "were of age to be married, he thought he wolde knowe whiche loved him best".<sup>57</sup> However, in Brie, Leir poses his question specifically bearing in mind that "she that louede him best shulde best bene marriede".<sup>58</sup> Leir's motivation is further detailed in Brie: "the king here fader bicom an olde man, and wolde þat his doughtres were marriede or þat he deide bot ferst he þoug assaye whiche of ham louede him most and best; for she þat louede him best schulde best bene marriede".<sup>59</sup> The additional detail in Brie's compilation means that it is clear to the reader that Leir challenges his daughters because he is old. He wishes to have his daughters married

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<sup>55</sup> Brie (1906:12 ll.18-19)

<sup>56</sup> Thus in the later chapter of Belen and Branne, two brothers whose father divides the country upon his death, the younger, Brenne, inheriting Scotland, the "warse party", while his elder brother Belen inherits England. His inheritance of Scotland is in fact, seen as an insult and a cause for war; Brenne solicits military aid from the Norwegian king, and when this fails, continues to harass his brother with invasions until their mother settles the dispute. E ll. 349-98.

<sup>57</sup> E ll. 244-45

<sup>58</sup> Brie (1906:16)

<sup>59</sup> Brie (1906:16 ll.25-29)



before he dies, which implies some urgency, but is unsure whether they each love him enough to “deserve” a substantial amount of his fortune in order to be married well. It is vanity which motivates his challenge to his daughters, not concern for their well-being. Because this is clear, there is no need for the reader to reflect upon Leir’s motivation, and to determine independently the aim of the passage; the elaboration of motive allows the reader to directly identify specific components of the moral lesson, such as the sin of pride which is the initial cause for Leir’s challenge.

The lack of description in E, by contrast, shortens the text at the expense of the reader’s psychological access to the characters, Leir in particular. The medieval concept of the human perception of truth allows for an inherent ability to “know” what is true.<sup>60</sup> This innate ability works without textual clues such as emotive detail, and informs the reader that Leir’s motivation, the transgression in this story, is pride. As the most commonly-mentioned sin in the manuscript, Leir’s motivation of pride connects him with additional characters who act similarly, creating a network of lessons emphasising one of the text’s central points. The fact that E has been constructed in this complicated a manner implies that the reader is intended to read and to reflect, and to discover the point independently, which will in turn act as an aid to memory.

A level of textual detail corresponding to the required degree of active participation by the reader exists in the Leir material in both Brie and E, most noticeably at junctures in the narrative at which the main aim of the chapter is at issue. In both versions, the two elder sisters state that they love their father “more than hire owne life”, and “more then all erthly creatours.”<sup>61</sup> Cordell refuses to “glose” her father as her sisters have done, and her honest answer is misinterpreted by her father, who marries his eldest daughters well and abandons his youngest. None of this material warrants particular consideration by the reader, but the different versions vary in length after this point, and it is at this point of crisis that the narrative begins to reveal scribal intent. In the E version, the story is told briefly: the land is divided

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<sup>60</sup>McGinley (1996:57)

<sup>61</sup> E ll.247-50, Brie (1906:16 ll.19 to 17 ll.4)

between Gonorill and Began, Agamp sends for Cordell, who then leaves for France. The sisters and their husbands tire of Leir and take from him his land as well as his company. Leir realises his mistake, and with regret, sends for Cordell who, with the army of her husband, returns to Britain and restores her father to his throne. All of this occurs in 23 lines. Brie's compilation, however, uses 98 lines, which involve a much more detailed rendition of the story. In particular, the progression of events which gradually weaken Leir's power are given in detail, and in Brie, Leir finally escapes to France to take refuge with Cordell and seek her help, a dramatic action, whereas in E, he remains in Britain and "sent worde of his aduersite to Cordell."<sup>62</sup> The level of detail in Brie creates sympathy with Leir's humiliation and allows the reader to identify with him, which is one method of facilitating the direct perception and retention of the moral point. The construction of E, by contrast, requires more effort on the part of the reader. In this case it is the active participation in the revelation of Leir's fault which conveys the point and acts as an aid to memory.

The legendary material concludes with the chapter of Cadwalader. The genealogy surrounding this character is slightly different in Brie than that of E. The last three chapters in E concern Saint Austeyn, King Cadwelyn, and King Cadwalader, with the latter being the son and heir of Cadwelyn. In Brie this order is reversed, and Cadwalader is the father of Cadwelyn. In addition, the chapters themselves contain different material. The chapter on Cadwelyn corresponds to Brie's chapter on Oswolde and King Cadwelyn, which follows Cadwalader, and the E chapter of Cadwalader does not appear in Brie at all. This chapter also provides the last reference to a prophecy of Merlin, which effects the transition into historical material.

Cadwalader is a lesser-known saviour of Britain in E: during his reign there is "grete scarscenesse of corne and catell that men couth finde no vytaille to selle for gold nor siluer but thei lyved by Rotes and Erbes and thenne fill the grete pestilence emong hem that euer was sene in the lande".<sup>63</sup> Cadwalader's reaction is to accept the famine and disease on behalf of

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<sup>62</sup> E ll.279-80

<sup>63</sup> E ll.1475-79.



the British, as the punishment for their sins and lack of repentance, their moral decline for which God punishes them. The survival of the British on “Rotes and Erbes” is reminiscent of the survival of Albyn and her sisters in the wilderness. The similar situation acts as a trigger to the memory, inspiring a comparison between the lack of civilisation of both parties, and reminding the reader of the fate of Albyn and her sisters. However, Cadwalader rescues his people from this barbarity as Brute rescues the Trojans from slavery, and he conquers the wilderness of their moral decline as Brute conquers the wilderness created by the 30 sisters. Also like Brute, Cadwalader saves his people by leaving the country; by making a pilgrimage to Little Britain in a self-imposed, and what will become a permanent exile, he echoes Brute’s voyage to Britain. Like Brute, he redeems his native country through his own exile, and also will create a new civilisation. In the narrative, immediately after he is welcomed into Little Britain, then “sone after seced the grete deth”, and numerous Saxons emigrate to Britain and “replenysched” the many who had died from the plague and famine.<sup>64</sup> It is Cadwalader’s action to save the British which classifies him as a national hero; the confusion in the text of E undoubtedly results from the long transmission of his story from its ancient Welsh source.<sup>65</sup>

While characters such as Cadwalader may be less familiar to a modern reader, many of the names are completely foreign and even seem nonsensical. It seems safe to assume that many of these names in the legendary material are characters whose legend has been lost and whose names may have been subsequently and repeatedly, misspelled. This makes particular sense when one examines the variation between chapters with regard to amount of material available; two chapters consist of only a list of names, undoubtedly kept in order to maintain the line of succession,<sup>66</sup> while other chapters are more or less complete in varying levels of detail. This may be an indication of which stories Geoffrey of Monmouth thought most applicable to his construction of a British text. Since many of these characters are Welsh in

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<sup>64</sup> E II.1496-1514

<sup>65</sup> Roberts (1974:34-35)

<sup>66</sup> E II. 319-32: “howe.iiij.kinges helde the lande of Bretane” and E II.470-89: “Off xxxiiij kinges that regned in pese ichon after other”. This second chapter lists 34 kings.

origin,<sup>67</sup> it is plausible that at least some of his original material would be more locally significant than served Geoffrey's purpose, and would therefore have been minimised.

The various versions of the Arthurian material also differ in the degree of detail included in the narrative. One of the most obvious differences between Brie's chapters on Arthur and the corresponding material in E is the presence of the prophecies of Merlin concerning the future kings of Britain in Brie's text, and their absence from E. In Brie, Merlin and his prophecies are presented in one chapter, inserted into Arthur's section. They interrupt the narrative, suggesting that the prophecies were actually inserted into the text separately from the original arrangement of the Arthurian narrative. The only transition to this highly symbolic narrative is a reference to Arthur in the heading, which ties the material to the chapter in which it appears. The prophecies are an independent narrative within the Arthurian material. As prophecies, they not only refer to a future time for the characters, but a future point in the narrative for the reader; they function as a reference point for later material within the same text. In Brie the prophecies state who "will" rule Britain, and later in the narrative, the prophecy is fulfilled. The kings whose reigns are "foretold" will indeed be seen to have ruled. Their function is to provide "evidence" of the divine approval of these "future" kings, in the same manner as Edward I applied the lineage of Brut and his sons.

Aside from the exclusion of Merlin's prophecies from E, the Arthurian material is identical, in order of events, in Brie and E.<sup>68</sup> The differences which do occur between the texts involve the level of detail applied to the summation of events; Brie's text presents more detail in such instances. For example, the antagonism that is evident in Brie's text between the Roman Emperor and Arthur is not so clear in E. Referring to the claim of Julius Caesar, and the recent murder of the Roman representative in France, the Emperor sends a letter demanding truage from Arthur, and in his reply Arthur refers to his own genealogy of

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<sup>67</sup> According to Brynley F. Roberts, Nennius may be credited for much of the alteration to legend which appears in Geoffrey of Monmouth, including the details of the chapter on Vortigern, specifically his name, and the chapters on Merlin, involving the episode with the dragons. Roberts (1974:35)

<sup>68</sup> The material of Arthur in E includes 176 lines in total, compared to 551 lines in Brie, which excludes the 160 lines of Merlin's prophecy.

Constantine and Maximian, which in fact supports his claim to truage from Rome.<sup>69</sup> In the E version, by contrast, the letters are summarised: a messenger brings “lettres to Kyng Arthour, him charching by the lettres vppon lyffe and lyme to come to Rome and do his homage, and bryng with him his Troage that was graunted by the king Cassabilan of bretane to Julius Cesar.”<sup>70</sup> And Arthur’s reply is similarly paraphrased: he “sent worde to the emperour agane that he schuld nether of him haue homage nor troage, but that he wolde be avenged on the emperour for the dispetefull message that he had him sent.”<sup>71</sup> The result of this alteration in E is a lessening of immediate reader response. As with the chapter of King Leir, the presence of such detail, and particularly the evocative language in which these letters are written, serves to draw the reader into the drama of the version used in Brie’s text, in a more involved manner than in E:

Gretely vs mervailles, Arthure, þat þow art on so hardy, wiþ eyen in þi heuede,  
to maken oppen werr and contak azeyns vs of Rome, þat owen al þe worlde to deme;  
for þow haste neuer zitte bfore þis tyme prouede ne assaiede þe strengþ of þe  
Romeyns, and þerfor, þow it shalt in litil tyme. For Iulius Cesar conquerede  
al þe lande of Britaigne, and tok þerof truage, and oure folc  
longe tyme haue it had; and now, þrouz þi pryde, þow hit witholdes;  
wherfore we commande þe þat þow zelde azeine.<sup>72</sup>

One interesting narrative difference is the order of events involving Mordred. In Brie, the narrative foreshadows betrayal before Arthur leaves for Rome in answer to the Emperor’s letter: “Kyng Arthur, his lande & Gunore his wif, he bitoke to one of his Nevews [...] þat me callede Mordrede: but he was nouzt al trewe, as 3e shul here afterwarde.”<sup>73</sup> In E, Mordred is not mentioned until Arthur is abroad, at which point the betrayal has already occurred; at the point of taking Rome, “tithinges come to him [Arthur] oute of this lande how Mordred, that was newew to King Arthour, and that King Arthoure of grete trust lefte to kepe this lande

<sup>69</sup> Brie (1906:81-2 ll.21-32, ll.1-31)

<sup>70</sup> E ll. 1223-27.

<sup>71</sup> E ll. 1228-32.

<sup>72</sup> Brie (1906:81 ll.21-29)

<sup>73</sup> Brie (1906:83 ll.25-8)

whenne he wente toward Rome, had seased all the lande into his handes and helde himselfe as king and held Gyamore the quene as his paramour.”<sup>74</sup> Again, the effect is in the detail; the use of foreshadowing as a device creates a dramatic aspect of the story, while E maintains the narrative order, so that the reader will be affected by events themselves, rather than by their anticipation.

The E version and Brie’s text may be effectively compared for narrative differences, if one assumes Brie’s *Brut* as a compilation represents a “complete” text. It seems safe to conclude, with reference to Lister Matheson’s categorisation of *Brut* manuscripts, and the necessary length of Brie’s complete *Brut*, that E is unusually brief. The lack of detail focuses the reader on the events of the narrative, on action and punishment, upon events rather than method; this forces the reader to analyse the text and come to individual conclusions, which coincides with the medieval historian’s responsibility to elicit a response from his reader in order to make the moral point. The necessity for the reader to actively interpret the text emphasises the moral lesson over the progress of the narrative, and requires the reader to participate more fully in the progress of the text, preventing the passive, predictable response expected when the reader’s reaction is completely constructed by a high level of detailed description of motive.

## **Chapter One: the Medieval Tradition of Historical Chronicle**

### **I.i. Medieval Patterns of Reading**

The application of this discussion of the medieval concept of history, and differing methods of presentation, to the *Brut* lies in the interpretation of the *Brut* as a work of history, with its stylistic presentation using techniques one may today consider appropriate to a work of literature. The aim of this thesis is to analyse these literary approaches to the

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<sup>74</sup> E II. 1281-88

history presented in the *Brut*, and in order to do this, a modern reader must be familiar with medieval methods of interpretation.

During the Middle Ages, scholarly interest in the past for the sake of knowledge alone, even in its application to the present, was limited. A text chronicling the past was seen as having value primarily for its ability to prepare man for heaven. The past, particularly when compared to the present, provided examples of “the eternal, unchanging plan of God for the salvation of man, and [...] the moral constants of good and evil which reveal themselves in human behavior”.<sup>75</sup> In other words, history is valuable for the pattern it may reveal in God’s plan so far, and the lessons it may teach from the experience of others. Similarly, the present allows time to learn these lessons and make oneself deserving of heaven.<sup>76</sup> Although one application of a chronicle in the Middle Ages was certainly to entertain with magical stories and impressive feats, the stories themselves are irrelevant if taken out of context from their primary use as moral instruction.

Since the approach to reading a historical text is so different today, the accurate interpretation of a medieval chronicle depends upon a re-acquaintance with both the medieval concept of history and structures of authorship. It is accepted that chronicles should not be read as a modern history, assuming that the author was attempting to record “true events that occurred in the past.” Although medieval scholars were interested in recording a truthful text, it is unsatisfactory to assume this is merely the equivalent in intent to the attempt to compile a modern text of “objective” history. “Truth” in one sense was vital for the success of the didactic purpose; examples gain force when the author can provide evidence that these events really occurred.<sup>77</sup> Therefore, with regard to a text such as the legendary material of the *Brut*, and the particular examples the author wishes to emphasise to the audience and to present for moral instruction, the narrative must present a “truth” which exists within the bounds of the reasonable and the symbolic.

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<sup>75</sup>Kolve (1966:108)

<sup>76</sup>Kolve (1966:102)

<sup>77</sup>Morse (1991:92)

The legendary tales in the *Brut* provide examples of acceptable and unacceptable action; as participants in these actions, the characters of the legendary material function as symbols for the reader. Whether a reader interprets the tales as literally true or not is ultimately of no consequence. The real, important truth is that God punishes the wicked and rewards the righteous and good in accordance with his plan for humanity. In the expression of this truth, the medieval historian was expected to produce a text which symbolically conveyed these concepts, and provided immediate results for acting to facilitate or to obstruct God's will. The immediacy and literal reaction by God in the tales provides the impetus for good behaviour in the reader, since tales of rewarded heroism and punished sin are ineffectual if a reader is not convinced that God will act, to punish or reward. Embellishments added to the text, to tailor it for a particular readership, did not make it any less "truthful" in this sense; they were considered to emphasise what truth, or point was already present in the text, or what should have already been there, if intent is correctly interpreted.

In Christian terms, the ultimate "truth" involves God's overall plan for humanity, the consequential progression of events, and the expectation of eventual human achievement. Within any text the representation of this plan is the central core of truth, and the narrative in and of itself is of relatively little significance. In fact, to some extent, it was thought that "if the subject manifests God's work, then even if an action didn't really happen, it's true anyway."<sup>78</sup> As God's plan has existed before Creation and is revealed as human events unfold, within "truth-ful" texts, there is a pre-existent message which the reader must discover. Even completely new interpretations of texts were not credited as ambitious and creative, but as the realisation of a "prelinguistic" truth that has always been present in the text.<sup>79</sup> Just as the ability to re-interpret the meaning of events for a particular audience is a valuable means of emphasising specific aspects of morality, the added possibility of actually re-writing an event, as long as it expresses the same idea, is an

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<sup>78</sup>Morse (1991:147-48)

<sup>79</sup>Morse (1991:194)



acceptable didactic tactic. For this reason the text of E will be equally as “true” as another, noticeably different version of the *Brut*.

Viewed additionally as a mnemonic device, which takes advantage of the pleasure to be taken from hearing or reading the tales, the entire narrative of E may be seen as a means by which an audience may gain access to the moral truths it puts forth; because the pleasure gained from a text makes the mind more receptive to virtue and truth, and “the mind naturally tends to embrace what it sees to be good, when the members of an audience perceive the relation between fact and truth [...] they are moved to assimilate what is represented, making it the criterion for their own actions and thoughts.”<sup>80</sup> It is not merely the conscientious reading and active analysing of texts such as the *Brut* which furnished an audience with examples for moral behaviour, but also it is the effect of a work of fiction upon the mind of the reader, inherently able to perceive truth and goodness, which establishes a foot-hold for the absorption of the moral points the author wishes to convey. The texts of Monmouth and the Brie compilation act upon the emotions of the reader to express their point, but E functions as a less intrusive text. The lack of influential writing leaves the reader able to form an independent interpretation, free and unbiased. This allows the reader’s presumed inherent awareness of good and evil to determine the right and wrong in each story, and to make conclusions that will be the more memorable because they have been achieved individually.

The medieval concept of truth in history ultimately derives from the Classical tenet that the historical text necessarily involves “the truth”.<sup>81</sup> While the perception of truth differs between Classical and medieval periods due to the application of Christianity, the concept that truth is a requirement for a historical work, whatever its definition, is central to the understanding of medieval methods of reading. Pagan histories, although considered to be devoid of ultimate value because of the absence of God’s truth, were acceptable to medieval historians insofar as they dealt with “useful things.” A pagan author could be

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<sup>80</sup> McGinley (1996:57)

<sup>81</sup> Beer (1981:23)

viewed by his medieval successor as participating, unwittingly, in the scheme of God. This enabled the medieval scholar to consider pagan texts, and established a concept which could also be applied to medieval texts: structure becomes less significant in a work of history, in fact, “the assumption that eye-witness history was valuable despite [any] incompleteness implied that the absence of certain details had no particular significance. Facts [...] contributed to the truth [...] without being essential to it.”<sup>82</sup>

Additionally, a modern reader must be aware that medieval historians inherited the concept of “history as literature” from Antiquity, which concept determined the function of medieval historical texts. Instead of merely being the record of past events, a “history” typically has a didactic function, and the emphasis on style of writing, in Classical thought, with the aim of affecting the reader, was even more important than the logical order of the narrative argument.<sup>83</sup> This concept of the importance of style in order to affect the reader is demonstrated in E in the structure of the legendary material. As a series of interesting and adventurous stories, E will have more effect on a reader than a simple chronology of names and events, and at the same time, because it does not provide much detail, it forces the reader to act upon the text, to actively consider the material, which then creates memory. The legendary material also inherits from Classical tradition another of its major components: the text is to be introduced with a “generational plot”, which is referred to as “legendary material”, a structure clearly manifest in the *Brut*.<sup>84</sup>

Authors of chronicles in particular were interested in using history’s participants to teach moral lessons aimed at the salvation of the living.<sup>85</sup> In a historical text, any progression of events forms an immediately visible structure, a “skeleton”, upon which

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<sup>82</sup> Beer (1981:29)

<sup>83</sup> Partner (1985:12-13)

<sup>84</sup> Goldstein (1993:93)

<sup>85</sup> The progression of events in a chronicle involves more previous knowledge than a verbatim recitation of a popular text; in order to affect a particular audience, an author would intentionally include, embellish, alter or remove episodes which were relevant to his moral purpose. In fact, medieval scribes repaired texts from which sections had disappeared, or had never been completed, and this provided ample opportunity to tailor the document not only for moral purposes, but also for inclusion of the interpretation of this record of history current at the time.



narrative detail is constructed. This basic progression of events also acts as a reference to pre-existing events which are the true focus of the chronicle.<sup>86</sup> Within the narrative are characters who act as symbols of a particular action, and signals, which refer the reader to a particular *result* in a previous historical situation. To this end, the objective verifiability of the material in the chronicle as a whole is insignificant. Unconcerned with the historical “limitations” of a text, the author and audience of a chronicle valued the events cited therein for their symbolic representation and explanation of the past, which provide the moral lessons; it was for the application of past events to the present, their ability to be re-read and re-applied, their timelessness, that medieval scholars considered the material historically valuable. In this respect also, the alterations in legendary material in E would not have caused any difficulties for a medieval scribe or audience. The concern is, rather, in what manner, and to what extent the reader is directed toward a particular goal, and in this process, what lessons may be learned from the examples these tailored entries provide.<sup>87</sup>

In view of the discussion so far of the medieval treatment of a historical text, it may be argued that a text such as the E *Brut*, an established narrative which is altered with each transcription, is acted upon in two ways: by the author and by the reader. First, the act of writing the text which incorporates the intent of the author, creates a potentially “new” interpretation with each transcription. Because of the necessity of authorial interpretation of texts in the Middle Ages, the ideas of “truth” and “fiction” regarding historical texts were not regarded as mutually exclusive.<sup>88</sup> In a basic sense, a “truthful” medieval historical document must necessarily include some “fictions”; since texts were copied with the intent to address various audiences, it is common for a history to be altered and embellished to suit the particular purpose of the author. Pivotal events in historical texts might be interpreted by a particular author as having less significance to a specific audience and therefore be given less prominence, or even eliminated, in a new transcription.<sup>89</sup> Evidence of this in the

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<sup>86</sup>Kolve (1966:108)

<sup>87</sup>Kolve (1966:108)

<sup>88</sup>Morse (1991:231)

<sup>89</sup>Morse (1991:6)

“historical” material of E concerns political bias in favour of the Lancastrian dynasty, with reference to “goode Erle Thomas of Lancastr”, who is “martired”, and in whose name God performs various miracles of healing.<sup>90</sup> This support of Thomas of Lancaster may be due simply to its origin in an area of traditional Lancastrian sympathy, or it may be appropriate sentiment for the person or group for whom it was destined. It is possible that a copy of the *Brut* originating in another part of Britain would not include this favour for Lancaster, or would perhaps, similarly emphasise another character in the narrative.

The concept of “history” as flexible also derives in part from the Classical tradition, whose scholars noted the necessity of editing and interpreting the text to suit a particular audience, and doing so in order to emphasise important moral points.<sup>91</sup> This is an important concept in the exegesis of the Bible, a text clearly quite distant from any medieval author or scribe, and becomes applicable to other texts which intend to convey a Christian symbolism. The justification for the variation of a single text is explicated in Alexander of Hales’ *Sum of Theology* and becomes widely accepted in the later Middle Ages:

The conditions of man are manifold: in the time of the Law,  
in the time after the Law, in the time of prophecy, in the time of grace.  
Even within these periods the conditions of men are manifold.  
For some are sluggish in matters relating to faith, some are rebellious  
in matters relating to good morality, and [fall short] in different ways.  
Some pass their lives in prosperity, some in adversity, some in good works,  
some in sin. The conclusion must be drawn that the teaching of Holy Scripture,  
which has been ordained for the salvation of men, must employ a multiple mode,  
so that the mode matches the objective.<sup>92</sup>

Not only should a text thus be appropriate for various men, each at a different level of understanding, but also for one man at a more or less competent stage of comprehension. Because of this accessibility for varying levels of reader, several, conflicting interpretations of the same text are inevitable, and perfectly acceptable, because even the exclusion of part

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<sup>90</sup> E II.2501ff.

<sup>91</sup> Morse (1991:94)

<sup>92</sup> Hales quoted in Minnis (1988:219)

of the narrative in the course of analysis does not detract from a legitimate conclusion.<sup>93</sup> The text is therefore “edited” again, by each reader. A reflection of this consideration of various levels of analytical ability, God’s plan for men in E is revealed in increasingly complex stages in accordance with general human spiritual development. The variegated exegesis of a text such as the *Brut* would act as an effective tool in which moral truths are interpreted from the examples provided by the narrative. While the physical editing of material affects the impression a text will convey to a reader, it is the independent interpretation performed by each individual reader which ultimately reveals the value of the narrative as a symbolic conveyor of truth.

The translation of such history became an important issue as the vernacular increased in popularity. Although texts in older, original languages such as Latin were considered to be closer to God and thus more “truthful”, the demand for translation into English brought another aspect of the question of accuracy to the forefront of scholastic attention. Again medieval scholars looked to Classical precedent: authorities such as Cicero explained that in the process of translation, the integrity of the text is paramount. The emphasis in this process, then, was not a word-for-word translation, but the assurance that the original meaning or intent was retained.<sup>94</sup> For the text to be a “successful” translation, the reader must be confident that the translation is accurate in its transmission of the matter of the original document. In accordance with this guideline, the “truth” in a medieval document, as with the “truth” of a text’s moral examples, relies upon the reader’s perception of accurate representation. These issues are relevant with regard to the *Brut*, as a text resulting from transcription and translation over a period of 350 years; the text of the Middle English prose *Brut* in the later 15<sup>th</sup> century is a result of processes of translation from one variety of English to another. Just as the *Brut* may be legitimately edited by each scribe, as long as the main point remains intact, it is also subject to interpretation by the translators.

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<sup>93</sup> McGinley (1996:55) The author explains that “the fictional details of a poem are seen as making no essential contribution to meaning, as long as the interpretation offered is consistent with Christian doctrine”.

<sup>94</sup> Goldstein (1993:187)

As with scribes within one language, the conveyance of the main point of the text is of utmost importance, which accommodates a variation in the actual wording of the text.

The main point of the text may be presented literally and symbolically, and it is this varied and complex use of symbolism which will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter and the next, in an attempt to disengage and examine the layers of meaning which are constructed onto the narrative of E. In this, we are ourselves performing the “method of exegesis [which] developed during the Middle Ages, whereby one builds layers of interpretation according to allegorical, moral, and mystical senses upon the foundation of the literal.”<sup>95</sup> The trained medieval reader would, of course, already have been familiar with this type of analysis, and we will re-acquaint ourselves with these methods and the assumed knowledge of such a reader as we examine E.

#### **I.ii. Common symbols in E**

The medieval method of learning to read involves, in part, training the reader to identify and interpret certain pre-established symbols which might appear in any text. In particular, images from the Bible are powerful symbols in literature, acting as a series of reference points to an experience in a prevalent and very significant text of “history.” Once a specific image is singled out, and its symbolism established, its subsequent appearance in future texts requires no explanation. Such an image would recall a stock of interpretations and suggestions which, when added to a character or plot, would remind the reader of past outcomes, suggest moral parallels, and add a further dimension of meaning to the current narrative. Language or key images familiar from common Christian readings could then be applied in the form of analogy or symbol in a text intended to teach a moral lesson. One such image in E is water, which acts as a symbol for baptism. The function of water in baptism as the judgement of God through its cleansing and the subsequent absolution, are images with which a reader would be familiar.<sup>96</sup> Baptism is thus equated with “submission

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<sup>95</sup> Carruthers (1990:43)

<sup>96</sup> Kolve (1984:319)

to water, in both its power to destroy and its power to give and sustain life”.<sup>97</sup> As such, the use of water in the *Brut* may be both threatening and forgiving.

In the E chapter of King Canute and Edmund Ironside, water represents both God’s power over all life, and his power of forgiveness. The king, Canute, “become so proude that he wende he had ben as grete as Godde.”<sup>98</sup> As a direct result of Canute’s pride, God causes the river Thames to flood the palace of Westminster, covering the tops of the king’s shoes, and again from pride, Canute “smote the water and seid ‘Y commaunde the water to torne agane,’ but for all that the water wolde not leve”. The water in this situation is physically threatening: “the water wolde nott leve, but come vpon him so that he stode in the water on the schoes.”<sup>99</sup> The uncontrollable rising of the Thames is a manifestation of God’s power to both flood the earth and destroy the king, but also, with the King’s repentance, to use water in baptism, as an act of forgiveness. Baptism is suggested in the description of the action of the water and the movement of the king: the Thames “come vpon him so that he stode in the water on the schoes. Then come he away, and in presence of his people, he kneled doune and helde vp his handys and seid, ‘O God þat art lorde of all things and art eternall, and y am a wrecched caytiff and mortall and haue no duracion but be thi sufferance, y yeld me to thi mercy.’”<sup>100</sup>

The water rises up onto the king’s feet, at which precise point he acknowledges his sin and his absolution. The action of the water covering his feet symbolises baptism, his kneeling indicates his blessing and the absolution of his sin, and the instant access to spiritual awareness that accompanies it; baptism not only brings forgiveness but also spiritual insight into the true order of humanity. This event illustrates the innate awareness of humanity of God’s omnipotence and mercy. The image of the Flood is also clear, as an image of the end of one “world”, in this case the unjust society in which Canute neglects his subjects. The king is humbled by his inability to affect the progress of the water, appearing

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<sup>97</sup>Kolve (1984:321)

<sup>98</sup>E II.1814-16

<sup>99</sup>E II. 1821-24.

<sup>100</sup>E II. 1823-30.

as a powerless and bad-tempered king, striking it and commanding it to halt, and leaves the palace to kneel, significantly before his people, and ask forgiveness of God. Canute's pride has made him an unjust ruler, and in the process of repenting his own sin, he redresses the imbalance his pride has caused.<sup>101</sup>

While water as a symbol of baptism is a recognisable image from the Bible, it has other applications which were influenced by the acceptance of Classical concepts into Christianity. Specifically, the function of water may be traced to Classical myth. Poseidon, the god of the sea was commonly thought to determine the fate of those people put upon the sea; the medieval interpretation of this concept substitutes God for Poseidon, where water functions as a natural participant in God's will. Therefore the act of putting someone to sea is the equivalent of putting them in God's hands, and in this manner, one may put one's faith in God to determine guilt or innocence. Water may act as the means by which a character is tried, and may be used as a determinant of a character's fate.<sup>102</sup> Therefore, the fortune suffered by a character while on board a sea-bound ship becomes a pre-established literary device which provides background and information about a character, which is then not explicated in the narrative. The first characters in E, both the daughters of Dioclesian and Brute himself, are put to sea as a punishment for murder. The introduction of the text with two consecutive chapters revolving around characters in a ship places the text itself, and therefore the reader interacting with it, in the hands of God. The details of both chapters are beneficial for the understanding of both the way in which water was accepted as a general symbol in medieval literature, and the specific point intended by the author. Awareness of the symbolic participation of the sea in the literature of the Middle Ages explicates what may seem an incongruous outcome in the first chapters of the *Brut*.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> The concept of justice in the *Brut* is discussed further below, chapter three.

<sup>102</sup> According to Kolve, this is an influence of the Greeks, who believed that the sea was by nature a good entity, and would reveal the good or evil truth of people set to sea.

Kolve (1984:325-6)

<sup>103</sup> The page including details of the ship in Brute's chapter have been removed from E, and therefore the events in this chapter must be referred to only basically, with reference to the general story.



As punishment for the murder of their 30 husbands, Albyn and her sisters are exiled from Syria. There are no extenuating circumstances in the E text; they murder their husbands in order to avoid a life married to men who are of lower lineage, in other words, they act out of pride.<sup>104</sup> Their father intends to burn them as punishment, but his barons prevent him, suggesting instead that he exile them. Committing the daughters to the sea, the nobles absolve themselves from the responsibility of determining either their guilt or innocence, or their subsequent fate. It is a satisfactory solution because exile acts as punishment, and it thereby satisfies Syrian society which would demand some sort of discipline. The exile is also an act of mercy; rescuing the women from immediate death, the barons give them the opportunity, if they survive, to live elsewhere.<sup>105</sup> They have also rid themselves of the decision; the sea will determine the sisters' fate by means of their guilt or innocence.

The survival of Albyn and her sisters is not an indication that they are forgiven by God and therefore allowed to survive their journey. They are not innocent upon their arrival at Albion, and they do not escape punishment; the fact that their children take the form of monsters is proof of this. Similar to later stories of various creatures in the legendary part of the *Brut*, the presence of beasts in this chapter reflects the brutish features of the human characters with whom they are associated. The women live as beasts themselves, arriving at an uninhabited island, and living on roots and herbs, and seasonal plants. This animalistic behaviour escalates to first a craving for animal flesh, and then, directly associated in the narrative, for the company of men. The devil responds to their craving, appearing in the guise of a man, but even the devil's appearance and seduction of the women is ultimately

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<sup>104</sup> In the E version of the *Brut*, the behaviour of the daughters has no textual justification. However, in other manuscripts of the *Brut*, namely a heretofore uncatalogued manuscript from Glasgow University Library, the sisters are presented as ill-treated by their husbands, a point which was surely intended as a move in their defense. The lack of this information in E results in a much more harsh characterisation of the sisters.

<sup>105</sup> Kolve (1984:326) Kolve states that there are three logical reasons for putting people adrift: if "guilt could not be conclusively determined by human judgement", "when men wished to combine severity with some possibility of mercy", and "when society wished to expel an unwanted person from its midst".



the working of God's plan, the devil also acting as a means of its fulfilment.<sup>106</sup> Their production of the giant-monsters as children is another means of expressing their animalistic nature; consorting with evil brings evil results. More importantly, Albyn and her sisters function as Eve characters in the narrative of E, bringing sin into the world, and corrupting an island-Eden. Sin, taking the form of monsters, is now free to plague humanity, and these creatures do make other appearances in the narrative. Although the sisters have escaped Syria, and their murders have gone unanswered in a legal sense, their bestial existence is God's punishment: they have behaved as monsters, and God condemns them to life as and with such.

In a premise similar to that governing the story of the daughters of Dioclesian, Brute is exiled from Troy, having accidentally killed his father. In fact, Brute is responsible for the deaths of both his parents; his mother dies in childbirth, and his father is shot by a stray arrow of Brute's while the two are hunting. Brute is responsible, whether intentionally or not, for the death of a king, and for the death of his father. Again exile by sea is an acceptable recourse to societal punishment when there could be no conclusive judgement of guilt or innocence. Since it was thought that the sea would no more hurt an innocent man than tolerate a guilty one, the result of the exile may inform the reader of Brute's true guilt or innocence.<sup>107</sup>

In addition, this exile is an act of mercy. Even though Trojan society will not tolerate him to remain, Brute is not a murderer; although they feel obliged to punish him, exile with its chance to build a new life is certainly better than death.<sup>108</sup> The sea determines Brut's fate; banishment relieves his countrymen of an awkward judgement, gives him the chance to live elsewhere, and also functions as a literary device which informs the audience of his true character. Establishing his nobility, it is Brute himself who initiates his own exile: "And whenne this mischefe was falen, the people of the londe wolde not suffre Brute

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<sup>106</sup> While the devil appears in the manuscript as the representative of temptation, he does not act on his own will, but rather as a character used by God to affect humanity.

<sup>107</sup> Kolve (1984:326)

<sup>108</sup> Kolve (1984:326)

to abide among hem, wherefore he went fro thens into Greke.”<sup>109</sup> The language suggests that Brute is in control of his punishment, and further, it is he who decides when he and his fellow Trojans, kept prisoner in Greece, will leave that country. Defeating the Greek king is a mere formality. Realising he would “neuer have reste of them of Greke”<sup>110</sup> if he were to remain there, he captures Pandras, and bargains for his and his fellow Trojans’ release. It is by his noble behaviour, and the way in which he controls his destiny, that we are provided with characteristics to prove that, despite the unfortunate circumstances, the murder is not intended to define him as a character. In fact, similar to the story of Merlin,<sup>111</sup> an unfortunate circumstance acts as the catalyst which introduces Brute to the world; in Brute’s case, his exile eventually leads him to the foundation of Britain’s royal line.

His journey, in terms of its function as punishment to satisfy Trojan society, is a success. In a part of this story that is missing from E, Brute lands in Europe and finds a temple dedicated to Diana. This is not simply chance - the sea brings him to a goddess who gives Brute directions to Britain. The amalgamation of Greek and Christian tradition provides an adequate setting both for a pagan character and a medieval audience. It is easy to justify Diana’s presence, as it is for the giant children of Albyn and her sisters, as a manifestation constructed by God to guide Brute.<sup>112</sup> By means of contact with Brute through Diana, God expresses his divine approval of the hero and his voyage, and reinforces the concept that pagan characters may be adopted into a Christian text, but they must be adapted into a Christian scheme, within the concept of God as the supreme being. God advises Brute through Diana, leading Brute and his men to Albion, where they kill the

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<sup>109</sup>E II.110-12.

<sup>110</sup>E I.141.

<sup>111</sup> See Chapter Two.

<sup>112</sup> According to the concept of euhemerism in fact, Diana may be considered a human character in the *Brut*, one who is highly venerated for her warrior skills and wisdom, and not really a goddess at all. It may have been a misunderstanding of Diana’s representation which motivated the removal of these pages from E, by a reader who assumed her character represented a deity from a pagan system of belief and thus by definition in conflict with God.

monsters that inhabit the island, destroying as a result the remnants of the carnality and moral wilderness remaining from Albyn and her sisters.

Clearly, in both of these chapters, exile functions at a basic narrative level to force the characters to leave their homelands and create a heroic foundation for Britain. But there is also a spiritual lesson of morality, and of forgiveness. The juxtaposition of these chapters in the narrative reflects a balance which will be the structure for the rest of the legendary material in E a balance between good and evil which serves as the basis for moral lessons. In a world before the organisation of written law, justice must be meted out in accordance with a crime. Without precedents, citizens are left to their faith in natural justice, and a belief that good will always prevail because nature itself cannot tolerate evil.

A central participant in both the above-mentioned instances of societal resolution for a crime is the ship, itself also a Christian image vital to the interpretation of events in the legendary material. Educated medieval readers would be aware that the voyage of a ship serves as a symbol of the spreading of Christian faith from one land to another, and the ship itself represents the bulwark of true faith.<sup>113</sup> Such use of a ship is illustrated most clearly in the chapter of Ursula and the 11,000 virgins. The basic plot involves the collection of women as brides for British men settled in Little Britain, or western France. Gathered and set aboard a ship with provisions, Dionotho establishes his daughter Ursula as their leader, intending her, as the most noble, to marry the king, Conan. Unknown to Dionotho, Ursula has “prively avowed to lyfe chaste,” and it is this vow, representing her commitment to her faith, in existence aboard a ship representing Christianity, which establishes Ursula herself as the physical representative of Christianity, while the ship represents faith to be defended.<sup>114</sup> Once at sea, the ship is driven by a tempest into a foreign port, Colyn, and to the attention of the Saracen king Gowane, who captures it. Upon realising their predicament, the women decide to resist Gowane and his men, that “rather than thei schuld

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<sup>113</sup>Kolve (1984:308)

<sup>114</sup>E II.710-89

lese their virginite for to dye".<sup>115</sup> They successfully repel the advances of the Saracens, but are then killed for their resistance.

Reading this tale in terms of overt and covert meaning explains the unjust outcome. On the surface this is a tale of bad luck and murder; the overt meaning of the women's actions is the struggle by the women to conform to current societal values and retain their virginity. But the symbolism of the ship and the sea provide further explanation, and since the moral of the tale is so significant, the actual end of the characters becomes irrelevant. It is not the defense of virginity itself which is to be praised - the overt meaning is not the aim of the chapter. Rather, because female virginity was associated with Christian virtue, Ursula's virginity may be interpreted as a symbol of the faith which she preserves in the face of pagan attack; the covert meaning to this story is Ursula's defense of her faith to the death, and the ship as a larger symbol of Christianity is thereby defended and its principles upheld, as the women prevent the pagans from breaching it.

Just as it is significant that the intent of the pagans is thwarted by faith, it is also notable that at the end of the chapter the same Saracens are killed by Constantine, Ursula's intended brother-in-law. Although the chapter ends with the revenge for the lives of Ursula and her shipmates expected by the modern reader, and indeed the medieval reader expecting justice to be upheld, the lack of emphasis on the final outcome indicates its lack of importance. The act of revenge is necessary for the over-reaching theme of justice in E, which demands punishment equal to a crime. The chapter may be seen as a parable: the tale of a foray of Christianity into pagan lands, the misunderstanding and violent rejection of the faith, and the final triumph of Christianity over her enemies. In its completeness, and concentrated use of symbolism, this tale seems likely to have been adopted from an already existing tradition, perhaps Ursula's own hagiography, which may be used on its own to describe the strength of Christianity, and which was amalgamated into the legendary material of the *Brut*.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>115</sup>E II.759-60

<sup>116</sup> And see below for further discussion of Ursula, in chapter three.

The justice of the sea also applies to the creatures who live in it. The chapter of Morwith presents a sea-monster who kills the king as punishment for his wicked behaviour. Morwith is: “full wikked, and therfor God toke vengeance, for on a dai as he walked by the see, [...] he mette with a wilde beste that no man sawe neuer suche another best. And the beste deuored him and ete him all hole at oon morsell and thenne vanysshed away no man wiste whider.”<sup>117</sup> Reminiscent of the monster-giant children of Albyn and her sisters, this creature is again ultimately sent by God. As in Brute’s communication with God through Diana, the physical presence of the monster is proof of God’s presence and participation in human lives during a time before Christianity is accepted in Britain. The monster, specifically its incivility, is a reflection of Morwith’s sins, his description as “full wikked”;<sup>118</sup> it characterises his inner spiritual state, and it also represents the way in which he has debased himself as a human.

A reacquaintance with the use of such symbols as the ship and water in medieval texts is necessary for the interpretation of authorial intent; not only are these images familiar to a medieval reader in their direct Christian symbolism, but their repetition creates a system of reference, and suggests a pattern of development within the text which conveys the moral point of the author. While each mention of the use of water refers to the concept of “natural” punishment, it also refers to all previous uses of water, and the outcome of each event. When the narrative reaches the chapter of king Canute, in which water acts as a specific reference to baptism as well as the Flood, this developing use of water reflects the evolution, within the text as a whole, of humanity; characteristics of water, established and developed in the chapters of Albyn and her sisters, Brute, and Ursula by this point culminate in the function of water in baptism as judging, punishing, saving and forgiving.

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<sup>117</sup> E II. 429-37.

<sup>118</sup> E I. 431.

### **I.iii. Number Symbolism and Arithmetical Proportion in E**

It is not only the medieval definitions of truth and corresponding symbols which affect the structure of a chronicle. Far from structuring history solely upon chronological order, medieval chroniclers often applied frameworks derived from contemporary theological thought. In addition to Biblical symbols and themes, the use of number symbolism and arithmetical proportion within a text such as E provides references to a system of meaning based on the significance of individual numbers, and their interpretation when present in various combinations. In addition to the meaning of the numbers themselves, and the established values they convey within the narrative of a text, the calculated use of the numbers in the chapter headings and divisions of the text relates to the concept of numbers used as an aid to memory.<sup>119</sup> This connects E to a moralising purpose in its very structure, as well as through the stories it includes.

Numbers were considered to have an absolute significance, in fact, “so pure and absolute is number that it was held to exist even before form, time, or space, pre-existent in the mind of God”.<sup>120</sup> Because of this, numbers provided a means of contact between God and man. The belief that “things measured by the same numbers were held to be in some way correspondent” and “they also in turn acquire connotations from the comparisons they purvey”<sup>121</sup> meant that, in a scheme similar to that of symbols such as water, a system of significants referring to numbers was established for which the mere reference in a text would immediately call to mind a specific connotation.<sup>122</sup>

Number symbolism is evident in E. Within the narrative of the Legendary material, the number three is particularly common: Albyn and her 29 sisters is 30, Brute’s three sons, Leir’s three daughters, and also in events such as a challenge occurring on the third day of a

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<sup>119</sup> Carruthers (1990:80-84) Carruthers discusses the use of numbers in a representative system of connected memories, in which one memorised number can be used to represent a series of ideas.

<sup>120</sup> Peck (1980:17)

<sup>121</sup> Peck (1980:18)

<sup>122</sup> While the numbers I discuss in this text are significant for “good” reasons, there are also specific numbers which symbolise evil or the lack of order.



feast, and a rain of blood which lasts for three days.<sup>123</sup> The number 3 is the first “real” number in medieval symbolism, and is “fundamental to the Christian concept of the Trinity” in the sense that the Trinity represents “eternity expressed or made real”.<sup>124</sup> The number 3 is the number used most often in E, both independently and as a factor in a larger number. It lends the highest authority to not only individual chapters but also the structure of the legendary material as a whole.<sup>125</sup> The configuration of the chapters around a central point in the legendary material also reflects a pattern of threes, with the central point being the birth of Christ: there are 33 named kings before King Lucy, and 21 remaining chapters from Lucy to Cadwalader, a number divisible by 7 and 3.<sup>126</sup> One structural application of the number 3 which relates directly to the medieval circular concept of time is the tri-partite cycle of Brute, Arthur and Richard.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> The feast occurs in Arthur’s chapter, E ll. 1217-27, the rain of blood under Reynolde, E ll.300-02.

<sup>124</sup> Peck “(1980:24) Numbers 1 and 2 are imperceptible to humans because they represent unity, or a single point, and a line respectively; because 3 and 4, by contrast, represent “space” and “volume”, we are able to perceive them, and they are therefore the first “real” numbers.

<sup>125</sup> I refer to only the legendary material in this discussion of numerical symbolism. Because this material tends to retain its basic structure and material, the presence of a numerical pattern is in a sense, more constant, and it is a more reliable indication of similar structures in the legendary material of other manuscripts. The historical material, by contrast, exhibits a much greater degree of variation, and for this reason, we must restrict our discussion of any numerical symbolism in historical material to E. In the E manuscript, a total of 30 chapters are evident. This conclusion requires consideration of which chapters have been removed from the manuscript, and the division of the remaining ones. If we include in our tally chapters which would have been included in the chronology, but are now not present in the manuscript, we must count a chapter for Henry I and Stephen, plus the beginning of the chapter for Henry II. We must also assume, due to the importance given Edward III that he too would have been given his own chapter heading. The chapter for Henry VI, however, is included in that of his father, Henry V; a chapter of his own would give a total of 31 chapters, therefore it seems likely that the scribe intentionally combined the last two chapters to give a multiple of 3 and 10, signifying the Trinity and “unity perfection, all-inclusiveness, [the number] one extended to include all numbers” and thus in its factored and multiple forms the number 30 is suggestive of completeness and eternity, appropriate for the completion of a text.

<sup>126</sup> The number 7 is also a common symbol in medieval texts, representing “eternal rest”. Jack (1989:33) It also suggests totality, and strength, because it is an indivisible number. Peck (1980:61)

<sup>127</sup> See below page 51ff.



The use of arithmetical proportion may be seen in the dual and tri-partite structure of E as a whole: in fact, authors of medieval texts often relied upon a system of numerology to determine the number of divisions in a text. Like the system of established Biblical symbols, the number suggested by narrative divisions is a means of reference which lends authority to a text. The numbers two and three, in particular, are commonly used as divisions, being of crucial significance in the structure and premise of the *Bible*; the number two parallels the division into Old and New Testaments, which lends the authority of the Bible to the new text, and the number three suggests the Trinity, a reference to eternity, and therefore suggests the presence of God's eternal truth within the text itself.<sup>128</sup>

In a historical text in particular, a reference to the eternity of the Trinity parallels the eternal cycle of history, and supports the subsequent usefulness of a historical text for several generations. Within the structure of the Legendary material, which corresponds in order to the Old Testament, reference to the Trinity, itself a New Testament concept, acts as sort of foreshadowing of the ensuing Historical section of the *Brut*.<sup>129</sup> R.D.S. Jack states, "It is in the nature of typological events that although they are real and prefigure later realities, they do not in themselves fulfil those realities."<sup>130</sup> One result of this foreshadowing is the enaction of the concept of the connectedness of time, the awareness in the "present" of the "future", and therefore for a reader involved in a text, their constant interaction; an awareness of the Trinity in the legendary material means that pre-Christian material is analysed from a Christian viewpoint.<sup>131</sup> The arrangement of a text into significant divisions, and the specific mention of numbers within the narrative act together to create a reference for the authority of the text within a specifically Christian context.

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<sup>128</sup> Peck (1980:18)

<sup>129</sup> However I am not suggesting actual foreshadowing as a literary device is employed in the *Brut*.

<sup>130</sup> Jack (1989:36) The author explains that typology within the Bible "defeats strict chronology, the events of the OT contain[ing] and herald[ing] the promise of the New."

<sup>131</sup> Though not immediately related to role of numbers, this circularity also functions in the prophecies described in the legendary material which are enacted in the historical material.

Medieval theological and secular divisions of time were based upon perceived periods of progress in the Bible. Each period in a medieval text may be demarcated by an event which represents an act of direct intervention by God in the lives of men, and this act of God both indicates progress, and defines each period.<sup>132</sup> In E, two systems of division are apparent. A dual division centres around that most familiar intervention by God, the birth of Christ. Within the tripartite division, it is the advent of Christianity to Britain which localises the narrative and reflects a larger “theme” in E, and establishes God’s presence specifically in Britain. Indeed, the direct participation of God in the history of Britain, in the form of Augustine’s arrival in the country as a missionary, marks a third, new age. The location of the chapter of Saint Augustine accordingly marks the beginning of a new section of human time, the time of Grace and Mercy. The story of a saint’s life, by definition holier than the common man, represents an elevation from the general chronicle, and as such, indicates the increased spiritual awareness that will be present in Britain, after his missionary conversion within the text, and following the change in atmosphere within the manuscript. The tripartite division then, is indicated by the birth of Christ and the chapter on Saint Augustine, whereas the dual division is characterised by the birth of Christ alone. We will focus on this latter structure first.

Since we have established that it is improbable that the writer responsible for E regarded his text as two distinct sections of material regarding their plausibility, the appearance of a division between fable and “history” may be regarded as a modern imposition upon the text and therefore is not a part of the intentional structure.<sup>133</sup> The dual

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<sup>132</sup>Jack (1989:33)

<sup>133</sup> Because of the extent of the detail in the historical material in Brie, the legendary material represents proportionately less of the total text than it does in the E text, approximately one fourth of the two-volume compilation. In E the historical material actually begins at the end of the chapter of Cadwalader, the transition being a description of his death and the subsequent warring among five regions of Britain, with Ossa emerging as the next king of the entire country. E ll.1528-33. In Brie legendary and historical material are combined so that Cadwalader and Elfride of Northumberland exist simultaneously. Since the events in the two versions differ considerably at this juncture, including even the names of the kings, it is difficult to provide a meaningful comparison of the introduction of the historical material, aside from the general conclusion that in Brie’s narrative the legendary overlaps the historical. Even this is not to say the transition is unusually abrupt in

division is thematic, and is intended to recall the movement from Old Testament to New Testament in the Bible which centres on the birth of Christ, and thus establishes the two medieval historical divisions of “Time of Misdoing”, before Christ, and the “Time of Mercy”. This division corresponds in E to the chapter on King Kymbaline, which marks the birth of Christ.

Thematically speaking, this medieval history of “Two Times” corresponds to the dual narrative structure of E. This division clearly demonstrates the process of development suggested in the movement from Old to New Testament. According to this theological system of classification, the Time of Misdoing includes the material from the beginning of the text to Christ’s birth, in which man is only influenced by the physical presence of God through his punishments; although he exists, humanity in the pre-Christian days of the *Brut* is unaware of him. People continue to worship pagan gods, unaware that the deities are motivated by God. The effect of this ignorance is the inevitable “misdoing” which occurs in an uninformed state. After the chapter on King Kymbaline, which includes the birth of Christ, the Time of Grace includes the rest of the narrative, including the historical material, in which the effect of Christ’s birth, life and death changes human existence.<sup>134</sup> This concept of time effectively presents a structure for the *Brut*, which refers to the Bible in its method of presenting a pattern of development for humanity, which itself revolves around the spiritual and social adjustment before, and as a result of, the birth of Christ.

A three-part structure is also visible in E, which reflects both medieval theological and historical theory. Since this structure incorporates three periods, the “theme” of the development of man is more readily visible. The historical three-part structure incorporates both the ecclesiastical concept of time, represented by the Trinity, and a human concept of the progress of time through the development of law. While the dual division represents human existence before and after the life of Christ, this division reflects both the influence

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E, since in a previous, similar situation, the death of a king of Britain causes the rise of several regional kings.

<sup>134</sup> E II. 1-536

of Christ on humanity in general, and also the specific conversion of Britain to Christianity. The “Three-Fold Division of Time” classifies human linear time since Creation in terms of the human law that was applied. The first division, “natural law”, exists before law is written, and corresponds to the material in the *Brut* from Dioclesian to the birth of Christ under King Kymbaline.<sup>135</sup> In this section of text, actions are punished or rewarded solely in terms of justice and retribution. The second division of time, “under written law”, extends from the giving of written law to Moses, to the life of Christ, and refers to the material in the *Brut* from King Kymbaline to Augustine.<sup>136</sup> The world is viewed in terms of the symbolic physical evidence of the love of God for humanity, Christ’s birth, which heralds a new age of mercy which first extends to the world and then specifically to Britain.

The third division in this scheme is the largest, both in terms of the length of time represented, and of the amount of material in this third section of the *Brut*. The period of “grace and mercy” begins with Austeyn and extends to the end of the world.<sup>137</sup> This section corresponds to the last three chapters of the legendary material in E, and includes the “historical” half of the *Brut*. The application of these structures, each either based upon or developed from theological concepts, serves to emphasise God’s omnipresence. His plan for and constant, active participation in the lives of men, represented by the advent of Christianity in various circumstances, suggests that while he exists *outside time*, he also acts as advisor and catalyst to each new period.<sup>138</sup> Accordingly, time was not considered to progress of its own accord, nor elements develop one from another. God’s interaction was regarded as vital and primary to any general human development, both in the past and present. It was this identification with the people in a history, whose lives God also acted upon, which resulted in a particular interest in the use of the past for future individual betterment. Thus two structures are evident in E, of dual and triple division, and it is difficult to support one over the other. It is not impossible, nor even implausible, that both

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<sup>135</sup> E II. 1-536

<sup>136</sup> E II. 537-1450

<sup>137</sup> Kolve (1966:97) and E I.1389.

<sup>138</sup> Jack (1989:11)

schemes were intended to surface in the narrative, since both effectively add to the interpretation of the text. The triple structure in particular reflects the triple concept of time, in which events occur in linear succession, but are also, in another sense, circular, and in which all actions occur with reference to eternal life.

The medieval triple sense of time co-exists with both the linear and circular viewpoints. In a linear sense, the medieval Christian understood life as a chronology, a progression of events from birth to death. This concept existed “within” a view of time as circular, which stems from an awareness of the cycle of yearly events and seasons, and the fact that this complete cycle is itself repeated annually.<sup>139</sup> In turn this relates one life with that of every other life in the past, creating a cyclical sense of history in general, emphasising the need and the ability to learn from the mistakes of others. According to this view, if an event is truly “historical”, its result is applicable to the present, it will continue to be cited as an example, and will thereby succeed in teaching the audience each time. The repetition of an outcome in a text, favourable or otherwise, which was the result of some specific action, confirms that history repeats itself, and the more vital it is to learn from the mistakes and successes of others.

The third, medieval sense of living “within Eternity”, a self-placement in God’s overarching plan for humanity, relates to the spiritual “recovery of [the] centre,” the return to the blessed internal one-pointed condition that existed before the Fall, which may occur during this lifetime.<sup>140</sup> This concept is reflected in the theme of the pilgrimage in medieval literature, and therefore was an accessible concept for the medieval audience of the *Brut*; as humanity must embark on a spiritual pilgrimage during life to recover the divine state of one-pointedness, so characters in the *Brut* together enact a cyclical pilgrimage which progressively achieves a sense of wholeness with regard to the position of the character in relation to his “home”. This cycle is manifested in the relationship between Brute, Arthur and Richard I.

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<sup>139</sup> Peck (1980:34)

<sup>140</sup> Peck (1980:34)



The application of the past to the present in a repetitive manner, with regard to a text such as E, creates a cycle of history which is active outside the actual chronicle; while the text itself follows a linear pattern of progress and intervention by God, the effect of the material is interconnected in that it may be referred to repeatedly by its readers and may have the same effect on different people each time. The connection between the linear and circular concepts of time is visible in the birth of Christ, who, primarily the redeemer of humankind, exists within a linear progression of time, but also represents a second, redeemed Adam. His death and resurrection may be paralleled with the concept of the death of a character in a text, and the “re-birth” each time the text is read.

#### **Liv. The Spiritual Manifestation of the Cyclical Concept of Time: Brute, Arthur and Richard I**

A medieval historian would have been aware of the application of the concept of circularity present in the *Brut* as a genre, and its usefulness as a tool in more than one sense. Since patterns tend to be repeated within one single manuscript, in accordance with the system of reference which serves to emphasise themes, a reader must be aware of the possibility of such echoes. Analysis of the narrative pattern of E brings to the reader's attention a pattern which exists within the material itself, and which is supported by literary evidence. The manifestation of the circularity of time in the E is seen in the circular relationship between three kings of Britain, Brute, Arthur and Richard. This type of structure, a separate relationship within the narrative, is a scribal tactic which enables the progression of the narrative to embody a theme. This relationship functions to emphasise the connection between the three parts of the text as a whole, since each of the kings appears in one of the three periods of history: Brute during the period of natural law, pre-Christianity, Arthur during written law, after Christ's birth but before it is widely accepted in Britain,<sup>141</sup> and Richard during the time of mercy.

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<sup>141</sup> It may seem a stretch to classify Arthur as a Christian king before Christianity reaches his country. However, the Arthurian material, a separate tradition inserted into the narrative of

Since structure orders sense in medieval texts,<sup>142</sup> and the structure in this case is the cycle, thus it is the cycle which organises the material of Brute, Arthur and Richard, around a theme of travel. As the *Brut* offers numerous individual moral lessons, for which it provides a structure of progressive linear development concerning the maturation of man, additionally, it presents a cyclical structure which in the E is reflected primarily in the relationship between these three kings. The Brute-Arthur-Richard relationship participates in the text as a whole, functioning as a connection of the three times.

Brute, Arthur, and Richard are “deified heroes”, credited with the foundation of societies in the *Brut*. It is as such heroes that Brute, Arthur, and Richard I are presented in E, each a founder of what may be seen as an independent, ideal civilisation within the chronological progression of events in the history of Britain.<sup>143</sup> This concept of a hero credited as the founder of a civilisation was a popular historian’s tactic since at least the fifth century, used by such fathers of national history as Paulus Orosius, Gregory of Tours, and Isidore of Seville.<sup>144</sup> Adapting the Classical concept of the gods, Isidore specifically included in his work a method of “euhemerism”, in which mythological gods are redefined as deified humans, and which therefore re-establishes legendary heroes as “benefactors of humanity, who should be remembered with gratitude,” rather than dismissed as pagans.<sup>145</sup> Since pagan histories were acceptable to medieval Christians if the material was useful, this reclamation of pagan heroes meant that the type of Classical hero such as Brute was an acceptable participant in medieval representations of history. The creation of “ethnogenic fables”, such as the *Brut*, in which a single hero is the ancestor for an entire race of people,

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the *Brut*, describes Arthur as a Christian king. In addition, Arthur’s faith in the context of the *Brut* may be seen as a herald of a new era for his country; as the progenitor of his own “ideal society” (see below) it is his duty to bring to his people the life of the future, and in the view of the *Brut*, the future is Christianity.

<sup>142</sup> Vinsauf, transl. Margaret F. Nims (1967:18) The author discusses the correct progression for the construction of a text, which begins with the establishment of a structure, or “order”. This is then followed by level of emphasis, the beauty of the language used, and the recitation of the text.

<sup>143</sup> Seznec, Jean (1953:12-14)

<sup>144</sup> Seznec (1953:19) Seznec states that “‘ethnogenic’ fables (as Gaston Paris called them) [are tales] which name a hero or demigod as ancestor of a whole people”.

<sup>145</sup> Seznec (1953:14-15)



may also be seen to have developed from this concept of euhemerism.<sup>146</sup> This interpretation of myth, and the application of divine characteristics to human heroes, allowed mythology to be adapted to Christianity, and “in fact there is hardly a chronicler or compiler of universal history writing after [Isidore] who fails to include humanized gods in his enumeration of ancient kings and heroes.”<sup>147</sup>

The relationship between Brute, Arthur, and Richard is established by their function and treatment in the text. Regarding E as a unit comprising the complete history of Britain, an author might fairly expect his medieval audience to see the text not only as a series of individually relevant chapters, but also as a whole, as a progression of events which teach by example, each example building on the last. The appearance of each of these three characters in one of the three Times suggests individual development which parallels that of humanity. In this case, even the “heroes” of this *Brut* are susceptible to learning and improvement; such a progression would provide the *exempla* for the noblest members of the audience, kings and princes. Heroic *topoi* provide the means which associate the three characters, initially by their similar descriptions, and subsequently by their actions, which belong to the category of epic as well as that of legend. Such themes, and common reference, function as a means of categorisation for a medieval audience, and which would have been immediately recognised.<sup>148</sup>

Brute and Arthur are more obvious members of this category because of their modern identification with legendary and mythological deeds, but Richard I is also presented in the text in the same category, and for similar reasons. His actions during the Crusades, perceived as heroic, the popular legend of Robin Hood which becomes associated

<sup>146</sup> Seznec (1953:19) The author explains that “euhemerism” derives from Euhemerus who, in the third century B.C., interpreted mythological gods as humans who were greatly loved and admired. Initially euhemerism was used as a defense against paganism by Christian authors, accepted and adapted rather than rejected, much as pagan beliefs were amalgamated into Christianity. Euhemerism was developed into a tool for historical research, which consistently recognised that these characters did indeed exist. See also Seznec 12-13.

<sup>147</sup> Seznec (1953:14-15)

<sup>148</sup> I will refer to both a general *topos* of the hero, which incorporates the various *topoi* which are included in this categorisation, as well as using the word *topos* to refer to a single theme of heroic action. I hope this distinction is made clear within the text.



with his reign, and his general popularity as an extraordinary ruler establish his legendary qualities. Although Richard may be viewed as a “historical” persona, his characterisation associates him with Brute and Arthur. In a text whose aim is to provide examples and teach moral behaviour, the similar characterisation of Brute, Arthur and Richard in the *Brut* serves as an immediate signal to the audience that they are heroes and models to be associated with each other, as well as to be emulated by the readership, perhaps contemporary rulers aspiring to excellence themselves.

All three act as euhemeristic characters, in their establishment of an ideal medieval society within E. Taken separately, the society of each of these kings may function as a complete unit, independent of the *Brut*; in this aspect of the comparison, the kings each act as a founder of a new society of justice, and as upholders of such justice. The connection between them functions initially on this heroic level; the reader perceives a relationship between the three kings because of their shared heroism, and the presumed rhetorical familiarity with the *topos* of the heroic character. The “ideal society” is one in which peace is upheld and a heroic king is strong and acts on behalf of his people, to facilitate their betterment. There are other chapters in the *Brut* which describe kings who are just, but what makes the chapters of Brute, Arthur and Richard representative of an ideal society begins with the heroic characteristics attributed to the kings. Heroes construct and maintain societies which exist at a higher level of justice, simply by the nature of their own greatness.

The vision of a utopian Britain is clearest in E in the legend of Arthur, in which Arthur makes the land safe from all neighbouring enemies, conquers the vast majority of the surrounding countries, defends the country against foreign insult, defends the honour of women, and in the meanwhile provides for his soldiers and gives his people great feasts.<sup>149</sup> Brute is similarly presented as the caretaker of his fellow Trojans: fleeing Troy after the murder of his father, he goes first to Greece. His nobility is recognised by the Greek king who brings Brute to live in the palace, where he is immediately approached by “vij m+ men

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<sup>149</sup> E II.1140-1280.

and women of the lynage of Troye that were come of grete lordis and were holden there in grete sorow and thraldome and all was because of achilles that was betraied and slane at Troye.”<sup>150</sup> Recognising his greatness and ability to lead them out of slavery to a new world, they make an offer: “Brute, ye be a lorde of oure lynage and a strong man and a bolde, wyll ye be oure lorde and souereyn? And we wyll be your men and we wyll go fyght with the kyng Pandras, and with goddys grace ouercome hym, and we wyll make you kyng and hold of you foreuer.”<sup>151</sup> These Trojans, who follow Brute out of slavery to a new and wild land, are the progenitors of the British population. The ideal society Brute establishes is a country free from oppression, thus a place of justice, a land likened to Eden; although at first, through the Eve imagery of Albyn and her sisters, the wilderness image is emphasised, and any beauty overshadowed by the sin they create and release into the world, Eden is first a garden, a place of plenty, and Brute’s conquest of the land from the women acts as a redemption of Eden’s innocence.

Richard’s role in legend, in the story of Robin Hood, is not included in the *Brut* narrative. Bearing in mind, however, that in this legend Richard is the peerless Lionheart, the messiah who will return to England and save the country from the tyranny of his younger brother John, the material which is present in the narrative of the *Brut* supports his image as a hero, the ruler of an ideal society. The majority of Richard’s chapter involves his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and like Arthur, Richard is a great conqueror: “as moche as the cristen had loste, he yt conquered saue the holy crosse”.<sup>152</sup> His reputation as a warrior is fierce, and the story goes that he is served with the heads of Saracens at his table, “wherfore thei [the Saracens] drad him moche.”<sup>153</sup> Also like Arthur, in his absence, a relative attempts to steal the throne. Richard is captured as he returns to England to defend his crown, and is ransomed, for which the gold of Britain’s churches is melted down:<sup>154</sup> Richard is worth all

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<sup>150</sup> E II. 113-18.

<sup>151</sup> E II. 125-30.

<sup>152</sup> E II. 2065-66.

<sup>153</sup> E II. 2066-68.

<sup>154</sup> E II.2074-75.

the gold in Britain. Richard maintains justice in two ways; by fighting for Christianity in the Holy Land, and in his return to defend Britain from his brother.

Medieval historians utilised a variety of styles which derive from specific rhetorical traditions. Just as symbols indicative of character, which are derived from previous literature, explain a character more fully than the current text does, so writing in a certain style may add a further dimension to what may be assumed. In the case of the associated portrayals of Brute, Arthur and Richard, the *topoi* relate to the characteristics of an epic hero. Such themes typically include a heroic birth involving extraordinary efforts on the part of the mother, perhaps including her death; a difficult childhood, the survival of which proves the “greatness” of the future hero; a specific relationship with the father, and a succession of challenges in one form or other which are all met with unmitigated triumph.

This heroic ethos is easily recognisable by the immediate establishment of characterisation as strong young men and great warriors. Brute at fifteen is described as “a fayre yong man and bolde.”<sup>155</sup> This type of expression acts as a “tag” for the hero in the legendary material. This description occurs in the text after he accidentally kills his father, Silven, and is exiled from Troy. Although this is a crime, the action reveals the hero’s maturity and demonstrates his ability to overthrow an established leader. The murder of the father, Silven in this case, is one manifestation of a specific *topos* in the formation of a hero; to allow the future hero to develop without a more powerful, threatening male figure, the father must be “defeated” in some manner, and in fact, the father, often a king in these situations, might never actually appear as a character.<sup>156</sup>

Another facet of this *topos* is the challenge the hero must undertake, which may involve his mother’s death, thus necessitating his political survival, and/or physical survival after “exposure to water or wilderness”.<sup>157</sup> The narrative of Brute includes both of these challenges. Within the divination of his birth is also the prediction that he will someday kill

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<sup>155</sup> E I. 17

<sup>156</sup> Morse (1991:137)

<sup>157</sup> Morse (1991:136)

both his father and mother, “and so it was as thei said for his moder died in childing of hym”.<sup>158</sup> His exposure to wilderness comes in two locations. First, an episode which has been removed from E, Brute lands in France and finds his way to an ancient temple of Diana in “an olde Cyte al wasted & forlete, þat nas þer-in nor man ne woman, ne no thing dwellynge”.<sup>159</sup> More importantly, when Brute and his followers land in Albion, even though they arrive subsequently to Albyn and her sisters, there are no human inhabitants, only giants. It is “an Iland that was all wilderness” which Brute conquers, symbolically proving his ability as civilising ruler, and his worthiness to serve as the progenitor of the line of British kings.

Another characteristic of Brute’s description in E, which links him with Arthur, is his unmarried parents: “Siluen, whenne he come to the age of xviiij yere, a-quaynted hym with a damsell that was Nece to lamany the Quene and gate here with childe.”<sup>160</sup> The text does not emphasise Brute’s parentage; like Arthur, his nobility is assured for the reader because his parents are of royal lineage. Brute’s portrayal serves as a “thematic introduction” to the text as a whole.<sup>161</sup> It is his foundation of Britain and the establishment of the three areas of England, Scotland and Wales which will become important further in the narrative, but also will determine the “historical value” of the chronicle in future centuries.

Arthur, like Brute, is introduced into the narrative of E at 15, and he too is “hardi and bolde”,<sup>162</sup> Like Brute, his parents are noble, but not married; Uther dies while Arthur is young, before he can become a challenge to his son. Although it is not mentioned in E, a significant aspect of Arthurian legend is the circumstance of his illegitimate birth. Since he is not legally heir to the throne of Britain, Arthur traditionally struggles against the regional rulers of Britain to prove his noble blood and particular worth. The manuscript merely

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<sup>158</sup> E ll. 99-100

<sup>159</sup> Brie (1906: I p.8 ll.7-9)

<sup>160</sup> E ll. 91-95.

<sup>161</sup> Morse (1991:137)

<sup>162</sup> E l.1143

states that “after the deth of Vter thei made Arthour, his sonne, king”, which skims over this issue of inheritance.<sup>163</sup> It is possible that the Arthurian material in E was adopted from a text which did not include the competition between Arthur and the kings for the throne of Britain. It seems unlikely that it would have been excluded for lack of relevance, since this tradition includes the challenge to the heroic characters.

Although inheriting without challenge, Arthur must still prove himself a noble king; from the fourth line of his chapter, he swears to defeat the Saxons, and aside from only fifteen lines concerning his marriage and the establishment of the Round Table, Arthur spends the rest of his four-page E chapter in battle. He defends Britain from the Saxons, the Scots, the Irish, and he invades and conquers Ireland, France, and several smaller regions, kills a marauding giant in Spain, brings back the head as a trophy, and replies to the demand of the Roman emperor for fealty with a successful invasion of Rome.<sup>164</sup> In these challenges he is equal to Brute, defender of his people, upholder of justice, the leader of a society presented as an ideal.

The role of the heroic king develops with the progression of the text. The relationship of Brute, Arthur and Richard is characterised by the progressive development of the success of the ideal heroic king. Therefore, Arthur as a hero is more developed a character than Brute; while Brute is a noble ancestor, his origins are outwith Britain, as opposed to Arthur who is British, and therefore clearly a British hero. Arthur is also Christian; the monarchy not only evolves from an adopted leader to one of their own, but also from a pagan hero to a Christian one. Arthur’s faith is important, and it is emphasised in the text. As a significant issue in E, faith signifies characteristics such as honour and bravery. This is described in Arthur’s dealings with the Roman emperor, first in the comparison of the armies: Arthur’s men are Christian, but the emperor has raised a combination of “Sarsyns, paynymes, and cristen men”, which suggests the scattered faith of

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<sup>163</sup> E II. 1141-42.

<sup>164</sup> E II.1252-54



the emperor himself and the insecurity of his cause.<sup>165</sup> Additionally, because “the emperor and the Sarsyns trust all in here strenght and not in god”, their force was no more effective than that of sheep against an army of wolves.<sup>166</sup> In this battle, Arthur and his army are successful specifically because of their faith, and Arthur’s heroism is further elucidated by his Christian respect for the bodies of his dead knights, who, it is carefully noted, are given proper burial.<sup>167</sup> With Arthur, British origin and Christianity become part of the overall heroic *topos* in E.

Richard I, like Brute and Arthur, is “a strong knyght and a goode,” most famous for his pilgrimage to the Holy Land and battles with the Saracens. In fact, “as moche as the cristen had loste, he yt conquered saue the Holy Crosse, and he wanne the citee of Acres, and he wold be sirued with Sarzyns heedes at his table wherfore thei drad him moche.”<sup>168</sup> He is a fearsome warrior as well as highly successful militarily, and this aggression, for the sake of Christianity, itself introduced by Arthur, is the addition to the heroic *topos* in Richard’s chapter. Brute is the representative for the first third of the text, the period before written law. Accordingly, Arthur represent the period of written law, and Richard, the period of mercy. Each era has a “heroic” ruler who signifies the height to which this era can attain. The progression may be seen in terms of Christianity, where Brute is a pagan, Arthur a Christian, and Richard the ideal Christian who leaves Britain on pilgrimage, the ultimate show of faith. Their relationship can be seen in terms of their development as rulers, in particular between Arthur and Richard, both of whom leave Britain in the care of a trusted relative who betrays them. The evolution of man from age to age, from corporal punishment by God to forgiveness, is paralleled by the development of the role of the kingship between Brute, Arthur and Richard.

In addition to the *topos* of the hero, Brute, Arthur and Richard are connected by a cycle of physical travel, the significance of place being the item of emphasis. The travel

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<sup>165</sup> E II.1259-60.

<sup>166</sup> E II.1265-66.

<sup>167</sup> E II.1275-77.

<sup>168</sup> E II. 2064-67.



begins with the character's location in his own country, and develops with regard to his physical location at the end of his chapter, and in what state he leaves his kingdom. Brute begins at home, where he has the right to the throne of Troy, but is exiled abroad, conquers Britain and remains there to found the new ruling dynasty. Arthur begins at home, is crowned king, journeys abroad to conquer successfully, and returns to Britain, but does not regain control of his kingdom. Finally, Richard also begins at home, journeys abroad to great success in the Crusades, and he alone completes the cycle and returns to England to successfully reclaim his throne and continue his reign. This cycle reflects the medieval belief in the cycle of historical events, in the progression of events facilitated by the reference to past events.

The home-away-home cycle also mirrors an important theme in Christianity. Human existence was considered in terms of a journey away from and a subsequent return to one's native land; it is the soul's life on earth which is symbolised by a journey abroad, and Heaven which represents the return. Such a "restoration of true community" is reflected in the cycle of the three kings discussed above.<sup>169</sup> The human soul's journey, from its deliverance from God, to its experience "abroad", and its final return to Heaven is reflected in this developing cycle of home-away-home of the three great kings. Number symbolism is also applicable to the development of the cycle created by the travel of the kings in the *Brut*. Humanity exists as an intermediary stage between the soul's origin in Heaven and its final return; the experience of this completed cycle may be symbolised numerically by a return to the centre point, which, perceivable only by God, thus represents God. In fact, "the figure most often used to explain the soul's paradoxical nature is the circle, since the circle is the only figure mysterious enough to encompass the soul's mysteries".<sup>170</sup> With this in mind, the circular relationship between Brute, Arthur, and Richard may be seen as a symbol for the peregrinations of the soul on its journey through life and back to Heaven. This journey signifies the development of the soul, its learning. When one king, Richard, returns to his

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<sup>169</sup>Kolve (1984:350)

<sup>170</sup>Peck (1980:39)

native land and settles to some extent, his success represents the afterlife to which all Christian souls aspire, to be amongst one's countrymen, in the house of God.

## **Chapter Two: Prophecy and Magic, Hagiography and the Character of Merlin in E**

### **II.i. The Role of Magic**

The main categories of magic which appear in E are the same as those which appear in medieval hagiography: the physical manipulation of nature, the power of prophecy, which involves the interpretation of God's will through signs in nature and astrology, as well as a straightforward foreknowledge of events.<sup>171</sup> Unlike the use of number symbolism and other pre-established points of reference in the *Brut*, which form a link between the narrative and events outside the text, magic has a direct role in the narrative itself. Magic is inherited not only from Classical myth, but also from Anglo-Saxon religious practices. Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* quotes a letter from Pope Gregory, which suggests that the most successful means by which the English may be converted to Christianity by Augustine involves the gradual amalgamation, with certain restrictions, of Anglo-Saxon religious practices into early Christianity.<sup>172</sup> One means by which the Church hoped to effect this amalgamation was through the construction and use of hagiographies, which incorporate pagan characters such as elves, in the form of demons, and also added the character of the Christian saint, whose spirituality is a reflection of his proficiency as a

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<sup>171</sup> Enstam (1993:6-10)

<sup>172</sup> The letter states: "the temples of the idols among that people [the English] should on no account be destroyed, but the temples themselves are to be aspersed with holy water, altars set up in them, and relics deposited there. For if these temples are well-built, they must be purified from the worship of demons and dedicated to the service of the true God. In this way, we hope that the people, seeing that their temples are not destroyed, may abandon their error and, flocking to their accustomed resorts, may come to know and adore the true God." A result of this "gradual conversion" is the tolerance which then allowed Christianity to "eventually absorb [,] native art-forms and outlooks." Bede, transl. Leo Shirley-Price (1990: I.30, p.365 note 92)

magician.<sup>173</sup> A popular means for the Church to educate the general public in mores necessary for the attainment of Heaven, hagiography served as a cultural common ground between pagan belief in magic and Christian faith solely in God.<sup>174</sup>

As hagiography bridges the gulf between pagan and Christian belief, so saints, the central characters in hagiographies, act as intermediaries between humanity and God.<sup>175</sup> The shared common humanity of saints and mortals provided an earthly connection, and, due to their reputed asceticism, saints were considered to possess a special link with God. This spiritual proximity gives the saint foresight and the ability to prophesy.<sup>176</sup> In this role saints took the place of pagan sorcerers as highly valued members of society; in fact the saint of a hagiography is “vested” with many of the traditional magical powers of pagan spiritual leaders, and because his powers derive from an all-powerful God rather than the unpredictable natural world or temperamental deities, they are more reliable as intercessors.<sup>177</sup> Therefore the saint as the authority figure represents a distinct improvement upon a magician. In addition to being able to function as astrologer and prophet, the saint in a hagiography would also typically be able to perform miracles which involve the manipulation of nature, and to comprehend the signs present in nature as indications of God’s will. These primary characteristics of Anglo-Saxon magic, categorised as magical powers, were subsumed into the Christian tradition of hagiography, itself a popular literary genre.<sup>178</sup>

Few recognised saints are discussed in any great detail in E. Aside from Augustine, none have their own chapter. But if we examine the narrative of the *Brut* for other saints,

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<sup>173</sup> Enstam (1993:2)

<sup>174</sup> Colgrave (1966:203)

<sup>175</sup> Enstam (1993:3)

<sup>176</sup> Enstam (1993:12-13)

<sup>177</sup> Enstam (1993:3)

<sup>178</sup> Enstam (1993:1,3) Particularly in early hagiography, saints were endowed with abilities which related directly to the powers of Anglo-Saxon religious leaders, such as healing and the ability to identify evil spirits. It is the overall impression of a magical culture which I wish to indicate in this discussion of the transference to the tradition of legendary material, and the effect of the combination of Anglo-Saxon belief in magic and the Classical mythical literary tradition upon a later medieval chronicle.

using the characteristics established for hagiographies, we find that one character, perhaps surprisingly, fulfils all the criteria and thus may be included in the category of saint in this text, and that is Merlin. Indeed, his reputation as a magician suggests that such a character existed in pre-Christian literature, and has been adapted into the more familiar role of saint, although never explicitly referred to as such. It is Merlin's hagiographic abilities and characteristics which warrant analysis of his character from this perspective, and which reveal the very function of a saint. Merlin acts as intermediary between humanity and God; he works physical magic upon the natural world, is able to interpret astrological phenomena and, for which he is most famous, Merlin is able to prophesy.

A common characteristic of the medieval saint, and one with which the modern reader must also be familiar in order to penetrate the symbolism of the *Brut*, is the ability to prophesy. Prophecy in medieval texts is considered to be an ability granted by God. Astrology, associated with prophecy as a method of seeing the future, was an accepted science in the Middle Ages. In addition to astronomy and medicine, astrology is related to the superior abilities of saints; stellar activity was thought to be the visual representation of God's will to men, but in need of interpretation, as were chapters in the Bible and historical chronicles. Stars are only able to function as signs - similar to the abilities of mythological creatures, they are unable to influence men independently of God.<sup>179</sup> This explains the connection in E between prophecy, earthly visions as well as stellar ones, and the use of magic to interpret them in accordance with the character of a saint, Merlin. Although the *Brut* as a tradition includes such prophecies and interpretation, it is the presence, or lack of, particular prophecies which distinguishes E as unique.

As the legendary material progresses, the manner of punishment attributed to God, which is initially also a method characteristic of Anglo-Saxon and Classical myth, and which accordingly includes the participation of magic, may be seen to "develop". Representing a microcosm of history, from the settlement of Britain to the time in which E is

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<sup>179</sup> Seznec (1953:44-45)

written, the narrative presents corporal, magical punishment in the beginning of the legendary material, which represents the Classical, pagan, period in time. Since God accommodates his punishments for humanity according to their level of moral development, physical punishment is appropriate for people without a Christian sense of morality, and magical acts are necessary when people are not yet aware of God. The punishments accordingly take the form of monsters and wild animals. After the advent of Christianity, the civilising of humanity, this type of punishment disappears.

Magical creatures, also an inheritance from pagan myth, for example, elves transformed into Christian demons, are used to enact punishments attributed to God. In Christian texts, the devil may be seen as such a character, disguised as a man in order to appeal to Albion and her sisters; this temptation of the sisters, and their resulting half-human children is their moral punishment for the collective murder of their husbands. Since it was thought that even though God was in control of events, people still had freedom of choice, then the devil may be viewed as a temptation, but not a character who acts independently, or who might actively compete with God for human souls. People might choose to associate with the devil, but even this temptation may be interpreted as God's intent and part of his overall plan.<sup>180</sup> In this instance the devil is a participant in the narrative, who acts as the channel for moral judgement, not a distinct threat to human souls.

The chapter on Morwith offers another example of such a creature, which, although less complex than the devil, still acts as the personification of reprisal: the king is described as "full wikked, and therefor God toke vengeance, for on a dai as he walked by the see, [...] he mette with a wilde beste that no man sawe never suche another beste. And the beste deuored him and ete him all hole at oon morsell and thenne vanysshed away, no man wiste whider."<sup>181</sup> The narrative directly associates vengeance with the creature's appearance. Its mysterious and prompt disappearance emphasises its sole function and existence as a tool of God. One means by which it is made clear to the reader which creatures are the agents of

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<sup>180</sup> Seznec (1953:44)

<sup>181</sup> E II. 431-37.

God's will is the use of language. Specific words and phrases may be used, first to convey a sense of mystery, and also to create a connection between events, providing authority for later characters by applying a previous, similar description. The language used to describe the manner of the creature's disappearance is similar to that in a subsequent episode. This sea-monster "vanysshed away, no man wiste whider", and later, the young man who mysteriously visits Merlin's mother "vanyshed away, she wist not whiche wey".<sup>182</sup> These terms emphasise the unearthly origin of the monster and the young man, and the purpose of their presence as the fulfilment of God's will, whether it be the birth of a great prophet or the punishment of an evil king. The fact that this linguistic connection does not occur in *Brie*, and thus is not necessarily common to the *Brut* as a tradition, suggests that it is an individual addition to the reference framework that exists in a particular medieval text, whether conceived by the scribe of E or of its source.

This linguistic allusion to otherworldliness continues in the historical material, the time of Grace. The figure of Saint John the Evangelist appears to two pilgrims, and instructs them to convey to the king a prophecy of his imminent death. Giving them a ring by which the king, Saint Edward, will know his messenger, he "vanysshed away fro hem".<sup>183</sup> The term "vanished" is first used in relation to a monster, an otherworldly creature with a close relationship to God, and therefore later applications echo not only the mythical aspect, but also emphasise the holiness of origin. The language connects the appearance of man, beast and saint to the will of God and his intent for the progression of humanity, and in this connection they are similar to Brute, Arthur, and Richard; since God makes contact with men in a manner appropriate to their state of development, his representatives, monster, mysterious lover, and saint, appear in an order which follows the continuity of humanity's development through the whole of the text.

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<sup>182</sup> E II.436-37, 977-78.

<sup>183</sup> E I. 1947.



## II.ii. Saints in E: Augustine (and Merlin)

Despite the general secularity of E, the text mentions several saints. For the most part, they are cited as part of the genealogy, not singled out as holy men given specific mention. Augustine is the only saint whose chapter is wholly dedicated to religious matters: while Saints Edward the Martyr and Edward the Confessor also have their own chapters, these are primarily secular in focus. Augustine brings Christianity to Britain, and to E, which certainly justifies the religious focus, and the allotment of his own chapter. Aside from these three, most saints in E are only briefly mentioned in the course of the narrative to preserve the genealogy, such as Saint Alban, the first martyr of Britain, Saint Chad, mentioned as a reference in order to date the reign of Kadweleyn, and Saint George, who is invoked by Henry V and subsequently seen by many French soldiers at the battle of Agincourt.<sup>184</sup> Saints such as Helen, John the Evangelist, and Thomas of Canterbury are mentioned with slightly more frequency and detail. Helen, the wife of Constance and mother of Constantine, is described as the woman who finds the holy cross; John the Evangelist appears in connection with Edward the Confessor: as intercessor, in the name of a town and a monastery, and as the namesake for an order of knights. Thomas of Canterbury is cited in similar situations.<sup>185</sup> The majority of saints in E, however, play less of a role than Helen, Alban and Chad, and do not appear within the narrative; they are mentioned once or twice, in connection with their commemoration day, an edifice with their name, or they are recalled in order to date a particular sequence of events.

The chapter of Augustine is a complex one, in the sense that, in contrast to the foregoing material in the legendary section, within this chapter there is no clear delineation of good or bad characters in order to establish a moral point. Rather, it is a straightforward presentation of the means by which Christianity arrives and is accepted in England. It is logical that a chapter involving such significant material should also mark a brief departure from the previous structure of the narrative. Prior to Augustine, and after, none of the

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<sup>184</sup> E II. 767, 1471, 3350.

<sup>185</sup> E II. 690; 1880ff.; 1964,2207,2888 respectively.

religious characters are foregrounded to the extent of having their own chapter. This alerts the reader to a shift in the narration. Although Christianity is a major underlying component of the narrative of the *Brut*, it cannot be labelled a theological work. Therefore, in and of itself, Augustine's chapter describing his role as Christian missionary to Britain obviously warrants particular attention. In addition to this, Augustine is not British, which is a revelation usually predicating political or military disaster. Of course, Christianity comes from Rome; but the structure also suggests a symbolic significance. The entrance of Augustine from outside the narrative at this single point recalls God's periodic interaction with man within the narrative of history in the linear sense.<sup>186</sup> Augustine's physical presence represents both the presence of Christianity, and also signifies God's participation in the lives of men. The *Life* of saint Augustine serves both as a necessary chapter describing the history of the conversion of England, and also as a functional introduction to the rest of the Christian narrative.

Augustine's portrayal is different from the protagonists of other chapters in another basic sense: although clearly favoured by God, Augustine is not infallible. When Augustine, established in England, attempts to exert his authority over the Welsh, they resist. Their justification is that he represents the English, who "'hath euer ben paynymes to now that ye haue conuerted theme, and we haue alwey be Cristen seth Incarnacon and therefore we will obbey the archebischopp of Carlion that is oure lorde and none other.'"<sup>187</sup> It is emphasised in both E and in Brie that Augustine represents Roman Christianity. Therefore, an additional reason for the vehemence of the Welsh objection to him is likely to be their own adherence to the Celtic Church. In the E the Welsh explain: "we haue alwey be cristen seth Incarnacion and therefore we will obbey the archebischopp of Carlion that is oure lorde and none other", and in Brie they are slightly more specific: "And Pai saide þat 'Pai nolde but to þe Erchebisshop of Kerlyoun' & saide 'Pai nolde neuer, for no maner Þing, bene obedient

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<sup>186</sup> Kolve (1966:119)

<sup>187</sup> E ll. 1422-27.

vnto be Englisshe-men’.”<sup>188</sup> The Welsh rejection of Augustine is two-fold: not only do the Welsh reject English dominance in principle, but Christianity has existed in Wales since its inception, and the Welsh therefore consider theirs to be the true Church. In this situation, uniquely, it is the “hero” who is at fault - the Welsh refuse Austeyn because of their steadfast faith and the relatively recent and therefore potentially unreliable conversion of the English. Their moral rectitude is supported by their treatment in the rest of the chapter: king Aldebryght and Elfride punish the Welsh too harshly, murdering them as they ask for mercy, and in response Aldebryght and Elfride are themselves both pursued and killed.<sup>189</sup>

In a departure from the basically straightforward presentation of characters as either good or evil, the Welsh are not condemned in either the E or Brie’s text for this resistance to Roman Christianity or English rule, despite the clear anglophile bias in both texts, and neither is Augustine presented as infallible, despite his role as missionary. Indeed, the narrative tolerance of the Welsh resistance may be seen as tacit approval for their faith and humility, and objective sympathy for their position, faced with what must appear a very different form of Christianity. In contrast to what might be expected of the Father of British Christianity, while Augustine’s magical power and therefore authority as a chosen representative of God are established earlier in the chapter,<sup>190</sup> his attempt to alter the state of affairs in Wales is a failure, endorsed by the narrator’s implicit support for the Welsh. The chapter of Augustine is unusually complex, involving an ambiguous protagonist. Augustine is neither wholly approved of, despite his holiness, nor totally condemned; this is a completely different representation, and therefore must have a different purpose than the rest of the narrative.

The character of Augustine is not used as an indication of good or evil behaviour for the reader. Additionally, although there are aspects of hagiography present, there is no

<sup>188</sup> E II.1424-27, Brie (1906:98 II.11-13).

<sup>189</sup> E II. 1447-48.

<sup>190</sup> E II. 1401-07: “Seint Austeyn come to Rochester and preched, and there thei scorned him and caste vppon hum bowellys of schepe and tailles, wherefor yt was sied that Seint Austeyn prayed to God that their childerin myght haue tailles, and so had many of their childerin that were borne long after.”

divine participation or indication of divine approval when Augustine is dealing with the Welsh. This may be interpreted, from the presentation particularly in Brie, as a lesson in humility; the Welsh are already faithful Christians, and Augustine's mistake is his attempt to "convert" them, unnecessarily, to Roman Christianity.<sup>191</sup> It is also possible that this chapter is simply a survival from the legendary material's origin as a Welsh text. Particularly when compared to the Merlin material, which paradoxically, more strongly resembles a hagiography, it is clear that the influence of this genre is minimal with regard to Saint Augustine. The purpose of this chapter, rather than the veneration of a saint, appears to be the commemoration of the advent of Christianity into Britain.

A character with attributes more typical of hagiography in E is that of Merlin. He acts as prophet, magician and astrologer, and it is the connection all these require with God which renders him saint-like. Indeed, in the manner of a saint's *Life*, his birth and childhood are described, as well as his ability to receive visions and perform miracles.<sup>192</sup> While a hagiography is typically constructed as one cohesive text, the descriptions of Merlin are presented in various chapters both of E and Brie's *Brut*. But in fact, the way in which Merlin's material is adapted into E is consistent with its development as a separate tradition.

There are two prophecies by Merlin in E, which ultimately derive, like the rest of the legendary material, from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*. Book VII of the *Historia* is referred to as the *Prophetia Merlini*, a text which the English prose *Brut* did not inherit. The *Brut* derives from a French adaptation of the *Historia* which itself did not include the prophecies. The part of Geoffrey's work concerning Merlin came to

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<sup>191</sup> "When al Engeland was baptisede and turnede to God, seynt Austyn went into pat lande pere pat pe Britons were, and forto kepe ham fro Englisshe-men, pat is to seyn, into Walys [...] And seynte Austeyne turnede po ayeyne to Kyng Adelbright, pat was kyng of Kent, and tolde him pat pis folc wolde nought to no man bene obedient but to pe Erchebisshop of Kerlyoun. And when pe Kyng herde pis, he was sore annoiede, and saide pat he wolde ham destroye". Brie (1906: I p.98 ll.4-6, 20-24). I am not arguing that the scribe is taking a stance in favour of the Welsh over the English, which is also clearly not the case in Brie, but there is clearly sympathy in the narrative for the Welsh in this instance.

<sup>192</sup> Enstam (1993:17) A saint is characterised by his "ability to receive visons [...] in the sense of foreknowledge," and the fact that "it is the Christian God who provides them [saints]with their powers."

exist independently of the *Historia* in the Middle Ages, developing its own tradition which included the adaptation of individual prophecies to other texts, where they might be directly applied to events in the narrative.<sup>193</sup> This is the manner in which three prophecies, that of the red and white dragons, the dragon-star seen by Uther, and the Six Last Kings<sup>194</sup> were adapted into the English prose *Brut*. The two prophecies which are presented in E involve the red and white dragons, and the dragon-star. Brie's text also includes the prophecy of the Six Last Kings.

As a seer, Merlin was regarded on a par with biblical prophets in the Middle Ages, able to divine the will of God from mysterious occurrences.<sup>195</sup> Thus considered to have a privileged relationship with God, he is granted particular authority within the Christian context of the *Brut*. An illustration of this may be seen in Brie's text: when Aurilambros, uncle to Arthur, wishes to create a monument to commemorate his victory against the Saxons, he initially approaches the bishop of London for consultation. However, the bishop refers the king to Merlin, establishing the prophet in the text as possessing an authority on God's will which supersedes that of even highly-ranked men of the Church.<sup>196</sup> This significant event is absent from E, which relies instead on the demonstration of Merlin's superiority over currently favoured clerks in the chapter on Vortigern to establish his power.

In addition to his unique relationship as mediator between God and humankind, the description of Merlin's life and his prophecies are paralleled with those of Christ in E. The reader's attention is drawn to the circumstances of Merlin's birth, primarily as they are the reason he is brought to court. It is the amount of detail in the description of his conception which draws the reader's attention in the E. The fact that his mother "had neuer a doo with any man" is not only the narrative indication to the soldiers sent by Vortigern that this is the

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<sup>193</sup> Eckhardt (1982:4-5)

<sup>194</sup> The prophecy of the Six Last Kings is Merlin's prediction, in symbolic terms, of the six kings who will follow Arthur.

<sup>195</sup> Eckhardt (1982:9)

<sup>196</sup> Brie (1906:61 ll.6-8): "Þo spake to þe king þe bishop of London þat me called Ternekyn, þat he shulde enquire after Merlyne, for he couþe best telle how þis þing miȝt bene made."

child they seek, but this characterisation also recalls the Virgin birth. When asked by the king to explain the birth of her child, Merlin's mother describes the visits of her lover: "sche ansuerd, wepyng, and seid that sche hadde neuer to do with man, but on a tyme as sche was in hire chamber alone and the dures fast loket, to hire come a faire yong man and lay be hire. But whiche wey he entred in the chambre sche wist notte, and whenne he had lyen be hire he vanysched away, sche wist not whiche wey, and so he come to hire diuers tymes; 'and so was Merlyne begoten of my body.'" <sup>197</sup> The language used also relates these circumstances to hagiography; initially the story is told from an omniscient point of view, using the third person to describe "past" events, but in the last line the change of person brings the narrative back into the "present". It effectively leads the reader out of the narrative of the *Brut* and into a second narrative, that of Merlin's life. It is a story within a story, which is unique in E, and is related using an approach consistent with a hagiography, describing a birth involving magical beings and occurrences. Thus an immaculate conception, the child of one human and one non-human parent, it is for this reason that "wysest clerkys of that lande" prophesy that Merlin's blood, literally mixed with building mortar, will solidify the foundation of Vortigern's castle and calm the tremors which regularly destroy it. <sup>198</sup> Since the primary function of a castle is protection or sanctuary, in this chapter Vortigern's castle may be read as a symbol of the church, where the potential use for the blood of Merlin is symbolic of the fortification of the foundation of the Church with the blood of Christ.

Merlin refutes this advice given by the court clerks. In E, he does not challenge their opinion, but simply calls them "foles". In Brie, asked to defend their theory, "alle þise wise were abasshede, and couþ nouȝt ansuere." <sup>199</sup> The clerks are embarrassed at what appears to be a mistake, but when seen in the context of the rest of the legendary material, their error is in fact the enactment of God's will. It is significant that although the prophecy

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<sup>197</sup> E ll.971-79

<sup>198</sup> E l.948

<sup>199</sup> Brie (1906:58 l.3)



concerning the castle is wrong, their earlier prediction of Merlin's birth is correct. They are not incompetent seers; in fact their mistake functions as a narrative device to introduce Merlin into the narrative. As in a hagiography, in which the saint's holiness is indicated by a series of events in which his supra-human abilities are made evident, in order for Merlin's powers to be demonstrated, he must be given the opportunity textually to indicate his expertise. In terms of the narrative, therefore, the clerks' prophecy is a manifestation of God's will to introduce Merlin to the narrative and thus to humanity.

Amending the prophecy of the clerks, Merlin advises the king to dig under the foundation of the castle, where he will find two dragons, " -the toone is white and the tother rede - and thei fight togeder on nyghtes, that thei schake doune the werke that was made on daies."<sup>200</sup> While his foreknowledge of the dragons' presence is significant, Merlin's interpretation of the dragons' struggle is potentially more so. As Caroline Eckhardt states, "In the later medieval period in particular, prophecy was seen as a means of understanding the significance of past and present events. It was also seen as a valid means, in fact the only certain means, of attaining knowledge about the future."<sup>201</sup> This faith in prophecy is the direct means by which medieval readers might comprehend the cycle of history: the timelessness of prophecy, the act of telling the future in the present, reflects the omnipresence of God and his continual participation in human events. Thus Merlin's ability to interpret such messages for the current time as well as for the future was regarded as vital, and also as proof of his unique association with God.

In the E version Merlin offers no allegorical solution to the fighting of the dragons, nor does he address the more literal issue of the castle. This lack of a solution for the tale, which also occurs in Brie, suggests that it is the tale itself which is important, and its

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<sup>200</sup> E ll.989-92 This is an abbreviated version of the prophecy. In the *Historia* and Brie's *Brut* there is first a pool of water under which the dragons fight. In the *Historia*, it is Merlin who witnesses the dragons and then explains that the red dragon, symbolising the Britons, will soon be banished by the white dragon, which symbolises the Saxons.(Giles 196.) It is presented as a literal victory by the red dragon in Brie (1906:58 ll.21-24). For the whole episode, see Brie (1906:58 ll.21 to 59 ll.21).

<sup>201</sup> Eckhardt (1982:2)

function as proof of Merlin's ability. Indeed, leaving out part of the narrative is acceptable: "from the medieval viewpoint the conclusion merely constitutes one element among others, rather than an essential part of the [...] meaning. The only rigid constraint on this exegetical process is the limits set by Christian doctrine. Whatever conforms to it is valid."<sup>202</sup> Instead of concerning the reader with the resolution of individual narrative issues, the establishment of Merlin as an authority in prophecy is the significant point. Even without a conclusion, the material of the story provides enough information to convey a possible moral conclusion relating to the weak foundation of the castle: struggles which weaken the foundations of a building representing the Church imply that strife amongst the peoples of Britain poses a threat to the stability of the Church and Christianity, and the struggles also depict the physical threat the Saxons repeatedly pose to Christianity in the *Brut*. Merlin explains that the fighting between the red and white dragons is a symbol of the repeated warring between the Britons and Saxons respectively, and predicting the arrival of Aurilambros and Uther, heirs to the throne of Britain, he interprets this vision as a warning to Vortigern and his Saxon allies.

Merlin's prophetic abilities also extend to astrological displays. Aurilambros is murdered by poison, and at the very moment he dies, his brother sees a vision in the sky: "Vter saw a sterre that was grete, and in the one ende thereof a dragon hede and ij bemes lyke fire comyng oute of his mouth, the one toward Fraunce and the tother toward Ireland. And oute of the beme toward Ireland come vij flammes of fire".<sup>203</sup> This vision is seen by many people related to Uther, but Merlin is summoned to explain its significance: the dragon symbolises Uther himself, and the beams represent his various children and indicate their future. The dragon head, unexplained in E, is the source of inspiration for the dragon pennants and the surname Pendragon, which Uther later adopts in Brie's *Brut*.<sup>204</sup> The very

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<sup>202</sup> McGinley (1993:54)

<sup>203</sup> E ll. 1073-77.

<sup>204</sup> Brie (1906:65 ll.11-16): "and in remembraunce of þe dragons þat he was likenede to, he lete make ij dragounes one to bene borne bfore him when he went into bataile, & þat oþere to abide at Wynchestre in the bisshoppes cherche; And for þat enchesoun he was called euermore after, Vter Pendragoun."

presence of the star is an indication that Uther is now king; since astrology and stellar activities were interpreted as a means by which God communicates with men, such a vision appearing to Uther, and explicated by Merlin, clearly indicates that he is favoured by God.

Merlin, privy to God's construction of time, is not only able to prophesy, but his familiarity with time in the past, present, and future allows him to relate to humanity as if all three conditions exist simultaneously. Aurilambros wishes to construct a marker on Salisbury plain to commemorate the British soldiers betrayed at the meeting between Vortigern and Hengist. Great standing stones were known to be in Ireland, and in E, Merlin "promysed the king Aurilambros yf he wolde sende men theder for hem, he wold go thider with hem, and he and his felaschip schulde gete theme hider."<sup>205</sup> Again this is an abridged version of events in comparison to both the *Historia* and the versions in Brie's *Brut*, in which Merlin prophesies that if the stones "were put in þis place as þai beþ þere, here þai wolde endure euermore".<sup>206</sup> The language he uses suggests the pre-approval of their arrangement at Salisbury - that their transfer to Salisbury is intended by God, which is communicated to Aurilambros through Merlin. In Brie's *Brut*, this negates the protest by the Irish king, who attempts to protect stones that had existed in this configuration in Ireland for centuries, and justifies their removal. This suggestion of pre-approval again confirms the medieval theory of the cycle of history.

Although the use of these stones as a monument seems to be a newly conceived idea, these actions in fact reflect a linguistic theory of pre-existing truth; truths always exist, and are placed directly in the minds of men by God, but these truths must be realised. According to this theory, the act of "discovering" a concept is, in fact, a partial recognition of this truth.<sup>207</sup> In a similar sense, the events in this narrative are preordained, and their enaction is the realisation by the human mind of an intent by God which he has placed within the structure of history itself. Aurilambros may interpret, through Merlin, that his

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<sup>205</sup> E II. 1040-43

<sup>206</sup> Brie (1906:61 ll.13-14), and ref. to Giles (1848:216)

<sup>207</sup> Morse (1991:3)

idea has been approved by God, and a reader may interpret this approval as an indication of the king's favour with God, but linguistically, Merlin's prediction of the eternity of the stones embodies Augustine's theory of Signs.

Another of Merlin's abilities is the actual manipulation of nature. It is Merlin's magic that brings the ancient stones to England: "be crafte of Merlyne the stones were goten into shippes and brought to the playne of Salysbury. [...] and was be crafte of Merlyne, for yt couthe neuer haue ben do be strenght of men."<sup>208</sup> Like divination and astrology, natural magic is an indication of the superiority of God, and the reliability of Merlin as his messenger.<sup>209</sup> Merlin also uses magical powers to facilitate God's will in a well-known episode in a story of Uther. The method of his actions is not unlike those of the clerks whose incorrect prophecy brings him to court; however frivolous it may seem for Merlin to use his powers to accommodate Uther's desire for Igraine, the actual result is the conception of Arthur. Corloys removes his wife from court without permission upon noticing Uther's affection for her, angering the king, who then follows them to Tintagel and lays siege to the castle. In order that Uther might gain access to Igraine, "Merlyne, by his crafte, made the king to entre into the castell in lykenesse of the erle Corloys, and lay all nyght be Igern while here housbond faught on the walles; and that same nyght he gate vppon here Artour that after was king."<sup>210</sup> Like Merlin's own father, Arthur's father is not who he seems to be, Disguised by magic, Uther's visit to Igraine is similar to the mysterious young man who visits Merlin's mother. Both succeed through magical means ultimately in order that the women might conceive and give birth to children who in turn will have a great effect on the history of Britain.

Interestingly, in the more complete version of this episode in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, Uther is presented as having a great passion for Igraine, and unable to think of a means of access to her, he complains to his chamberlain, Ulfin, who suggests that

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<sup>208</sup> E II.1047-52

<sup>209</sup> Enstam (1993:8-13)

<sup>210</sup> E II. 1115-20

although “no force will enable us to have access to her in the town of Tintagel [...] Notwithstanding, if the prophet Merlin would in earnest set about this attempt, I am of opinion, you might with his advice obtain your wishes.”<sup>211</sup> Similar to the Bishop of London who, in Brie, suggests Aurilambros seek advice from Merlin with regard to the monument, a trusted advisor recommends that Merlin be sought for his advice. It is a means of seeking out God’s own opinion.<sup>212</sup> This version of events is much more romanticised than either Brie or E. For example, in the *Historia* Merlin uses “such arts as have not been heard of in your time,” and uses them out of “excessive love” for Uther. But Merlin in E is a separate character from both traditions of the *Prophetia Merlini* and of Geoffrey’s *Historia*; he is not a personal advisor as in the *Historia*, and he does not appear in E in the arrangement adopted from a separate tradition.

Insofar as prophecy was thought to connect the past to the future, it may be concluded that the prediction of an event is an indication of God’s will; the fact that interpretation is required leaves the prediction open to repeated application. It is a measure of God’s complexity and omnipresence in history and time that a prediction made centuries earlier may be applicable to a contemporary situation. In this sense, a prophecy may “occur” several times, first upon its pronouncement, then upon its realisation, and then upon each enactment thereafter. Prophecy as such was an integral part of the medieval concept of time as circular. Thus, rather than conceiving of time as solely linear, in which an event occurs once and then never again, medieval thought on the aspect of time which is circular held that only if an event is applicable to more than one period in time is it truly “historical”.<sup>213</sup> There is clearly a principle of learning from the past in the value placed upon chronicles; their very point is to enable readers to learn by example which actions are good or bad, in order to establish which ones will lead to salvation.<sup>214</sup> Prophecy is therefore,

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<sup>211</sup> Giles (1848:224-5)

<sup>212</sup> E II. 1517-25. Also in the episode of Cadwalader, the king consults an angel in order to know God’s will. Angels also act as an intermediary between God and humanity, but they exist in a state closer to God than the saints. Enstam (1993:2)

<sup>213</sup> Kolve (1966:108)

<sup>214</sup> Kolve (1966:107)

perhaps paradoxically, a means by which one may learn from the past, as well as be acquainted with what will happen in the future. The recurrence of a prophecy ties time together; once enacted, it acts as an established frame of reference for the point where a prophecy is “given” anew. With the repeated interpretation, the object of the prophecy must assess his own situation in accordance with that of those who enacted it previously, and learn from it.

Past occurrences therefore function as precedents, in the sense that one may base a “current” interpretation of a prophecy on the results of the past. The most common example of this is the application of Merlin’s “Six Last Kings” prophecy to predict or explain the behaviour of current monarchs. Although this prophecy - a later, independent development from the *Prophetia Merlini* - is typically included in the *Brut*, it does not appear in E. Textually, it usually appears following the prophecy of Vortigern’s fate, and predicts the six British kings after Arthur in symbolic terms. In Brie’s *Brut*, these prophecies recur; the kings themselves, to whom these analogies refer, are described using the same images and language that is previously used by Merlin. For example, the first king described in the prophecy shall be a “lambe oute of Wynchestre þat shal haue a white tong and trew lippis, and he shal haue wryten in his hert ‘Holynesse’.” Regarding Henry III, Brie’s text applies this prophecy, “And of þis Kyng Henry, propheciede Merlyn, & said þat ‘a lombe shulde come out of Wynchestre [...] wiþ trew lippis, and holynesse wryten in his hert.’ And he saide soþ”.<sup>215</sup> Eckhardt states that this verbatim repetition acts as a literal recurrence of the prophecy in the *Brut*.

In this sense, the combined verbal repetition of a prophecy with its enactment only occurs once in E. Upon the interpretation of the dragon-head vision, Uther is offered divine encouragement by Merlin who, speaking as a prophet, advises Uther to “holde **forth** your way to your **enmyes**, for ye schall ouercome hem.”<sup>216</sup> Thus, given God’s blessing, Uther

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<sup>215</sup> Brie (1906:72 ll.5-7 and 177 ll. 14-17)

<sup>216</sup> E ll. 1091-92



indeed “went **forth** and discomfite his **enmyes**, and slewe Passent and Guillemore”.<sup>217</sup>

Although these points of comparison are not identical in meaning, their proximity in the text and linguistic similarity emphasise the progression from prediction to enactment. The repetition of the same wording ties the original prophecy to its fruition; textually this leaves this prophecy open to future application if, for example, a character should see a similar vision. In this it is also similar to the pre-established symbols to which readers may refer for characterisation lacking in the text. It is the creation of such a system of symbols within this text which may serve as a signal in the *Brut* of the repetition of history, or since the *Brut* was such a popular text, it may exist transferred to other texts.

According to the “Six Last Kings” prophecy, which occurs in Brie during Arthur’s chapter, after these six kings have passed, a ruler from Germany will invade Britain and cause the downfall of the Christian church, after which the seat of the British bishopric will be moved to Canterbury.<sup>218</sup> In E, where this prophecy does not appear, the narrative nevertheless proceeds in accordance with it: six kings do rule after Arthur, at which point Gormond, a foreigner, invades Britain. This invader “distroied all the Bretanes that were Cristen, and distroied holy chirche and droffe oute the bischoppis and abbotis, [...] And thenne Gormond gaffe this lande to the Saxons” who were resident in Britain, and who assisted in his conquest.<sup>219</sup> Material in the following chapter, of Saint Augustine, completes the prophecy: the seat of the re-established Church is moved to Canterbury.<sup>220</sup> The prophecy of the “Six Last Kings”, although E does not include it, has clearly influenced the narrative at some stage.

The last prophecy to be associated with Merlin in E is described in the final chapter of the legendary material, of Cadwalader. Because of a great shortage of food, a great number of Britons, including Cadwalader their king, leave Britain for Little Britain. Cadwalader accepts this tragedy as the fault of the Britons, that for their “grete synnes, of

<sup>217</sup> E II.1092-94, emphasis added.

<sup>218</sup> Eckhardt (1982:18).

<sup>219</sup> E II. 1361-63.

<sup>220</sup> E II. 1408-9.

whiche we wolde not amend vs while we had space, [we] ar nowe exiled oute of oure lande of the whiche the Scottes, Saxones, Danes, Romaines, nor no nacion couth neuer exile vs, but Jhesu that hast put vs in exile for oure synnes, haue mercy vpon vs!”<sup>221</sup> Upon their arrival in Little Britain the “grete deth” ends in Britain, and the remaining Britons send into Saxony for people to emigrate and settle in Britain, to replace those who fled the country with Cadwalader. Seeing the country recovering, Cadwalader considers a return, but first he seeks the advice of God, and “an angell appered to him and seid yt was notte goddis will that euer he schulde come again to Bretane, nor that Bretanes schulde haue any rule there vnto tyme that merlynys prophecy and the prophecy of Sibill were fulfilled, and that schulde neuer be vnto tyme that the Reliques of oure lordis body were broght fro Rome and translate vnto Bretane.”<sup>222</sup>

The prophecy of Merlin mentioned by the angel does not appear previously in E. The only two prophecies with which Merlin is involved are that of the red and white dragon, and that of the dragon-head star, and both of these have been fulfilled. It seems likely that this “Merlynys prophecy” refers to that of the “Six Last Kings”, which, for reasons of either economy or an assumed familiarity of the reader with the material, has been left out of E. In this case, the Angel’s statement suggests that only after the reign of the sixth king after Arthur, Cadwelyn, will Britain again be under the control of the British.

The application of magic in E acts as a spiritual link between the characters and God. The act of reading about magic forms a connection between the reader and God, and establishes a basis by which moral instruction may be conveyed. The main point of E being moral instruction, various methods of reading therefore allow the reader to gain access to “truths”, of which the interpretation of magic is one method. Although the chapters contrast good and evil behaviour in a variety of plots, there is one point which remains the constant ultimate aim: justice. At this stage, the presence of God is not so obvious; it is the responsibility of humanity, once instructed by God, to maintain justice. Analysis of

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<sup>221</sup> E ll. 1489-95.

<sup>222</sup> E ll. 1518-25.

individual characters and their actions in relation to justice, and the use of power to prevent or encourage it, provides a more detailed view of the way in which medieval readers were intended to interpret E.

### **Chapter Three: The Distribution of Power in E**

#### **III.i. The Theme of Power**

The application of power functions in E as a central motivation for the actions of the characters. This application of power is visible in the characters' dealings with justice. Particularly in the legendary material, the constructive use or abuse of power and the resulting effect upon justice, is a primary way in which characters are defined for the reader. Abuses of power are presented as sins, while the just application of power is rewarded by God. The theme of power may be apprehended on two levels, according to the reader's interpretive effort. The chapters may be read at a basic level, at which the readers' innate ability to perceive the good and evil will enable him to comprehend the value of each example without necessarily perceiving a pattern, whereas a more accomplished reader may discern a theme, relating one chapter to another. In its availability to more than one level of reader, the narrative of E facilitates "multiple modes" of interpretation: a text which is accessible to readers of differing abilities.<sup>223</sup>

One means by which justice is illustrated in E is in the general correspondence between one chapter and the next; evil kings are followed by just kings, and those kings who are evil are appropriately punished. Because justice and injustice are presented consistently in tandem, an action which creates injustice within the text may be seen as the disruption of equilibrium. The punishment for the abuse of power re-establishes the balance, and

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<sup>223</sup> See above chapter one.

facilitates the maintenance of justice. It is this balancing of good and evil, related to the appropriate use of power which makes E an effective tool for moral instruction.

Thomas Aquinas discusses the nature of justice, stating that justice implies both “a right order in man’s act”, or a tendency in humanity to act justly, which is a virtue, and also suggests “a certain rectitude of order in the interior disposition of a man, insofar as what is highest in man is subject to God, and the inferior powers of the soul are subject to the superior, i.e., to the reason”.<sup>224</sup> According to Aquinas, therefore, justice is inherent in the nature of humanity, but is subject to imbalance due to a dual division between superior and inferior aspects. This existence and innate balance of inferior and superior abilities in mankind is reflected in the good and evil actions of characters in E. Since acts of reason are superior to acts of baser quality, of passion, characters motivated by reason are successful. The repeated struggle between characters of E represents the struggle within the individual, and acts as a microcosm for such a struggle between the higher good and baser evil inherent in humankind. The accomplishment of Justice may be seen as the victory of reason within humanity, and also as a successful end to a journey which parallels humanity’s lifetime pilgrimage back to heaven. As one seeks Justice, which as the superior faculty of man is controlled by God, one seeks a unity with God. This desire for unity with God is also the motivation for the lifetime pilgrimage, to be reunited with the single-pointedness that is God’s existence.

In the legendary material, direct association is made between the sin of pride and the abuse of power. Although the narrative presents a variety of secular injustices, such as the violation of hereditary law or a legal agreement, as the immediate reason for a character’s punishment, in most cases pride is the initial motivation for these crimes. An act of injustice in E is an indication of a morally corrupt ruler. The proper use of power, and the justice which this automatically engenders, is represented as the ideal state to be maintained specifically by a monarch, his generosity and concern for his subjects ideally being his

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<sup>224</sup> Singleton (1958:58)

motivation and primary concern. A point of crisis occurs in text when the king, motivated by pride, acts in a way which creates an injustice. This injustice usually involves a form of treachery - the betrayal or even murder of one's lord, whether he is kin or not, or taking advantage of those weaker, which is an example of the king's betrayal of his responsibility to care for his people.<sup>225</sup> Justice, as the triumph of reason over passion, is embodied in the struggle between royal brothers, the rightful heir to the throne representing reason, and the intended usurper representing passion. Thus the actions of the true heir are supported in the narrative by his association with reason and therefore God, while the usurper, clearly acting out of passion and thus representing the lower qualities of humanity, must be overcome.

The ability to maintain justice is presented as the most important function or quality of a good ruler, and therefore the use of power involved in the enactment of justice within the narrative as a whole is an indication of medieval perception of good character. While the male characters, kings, princes, and great warriors, act to directly influence justice throughout the kingdom, female characters more commonly act to ensure personal justice. It is the application of power, and in the case of female characters, the availability of power, which elucidates the text's theme of justice. As a text intended to provide examples of imitable behaviour, the social and political relationships between men and women in the *Brut* express the "ideal" gender roles, defined by their actions with respect to each other. Notably, although significant relationships exist between male and female characters, and between characters of the same sex, both male and female characters are defined primarily by their relationship to men.

### **III.ii. Justice and Brotherhood**

A prominent means by which the author conveys a sense of the misapplication of power and its effect upon justice in E is through the relationship between brothers. The conflict between brothers as heirs to the throne is relatively common in E, and their

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<sup>225</sup> le Saux (1994:195)

treatment of each other is used as a narrative device to introduce various forms of injustice. The brother who rightly holds the throne, or rightly controls a region, acts as a conveyor of, and thus representative of justice in the text. The challenge of power occurs when one brother attacks the other, a struggle which may end in either peace, fratricide, or any sort of arrangement falling between the two. It is the action of the rightful heir which determines whether he will be able to defend his kingdom and uphold justice therein: if he is strong enough to keep his throne, thus implicitly retain God's support, he will be strong enough to maintain justice in his realm. The ability to maintain justice in the kingdom is central to its survival and is therefore emphasised as the primary vital function of a ruler; the king who acts selflessly, out of fairness and generosity toward his citizens, is presented as the moral example. These instances may be read as examples of the concurrent levels of meaning present in E; fundamentally, fraternal relationships provide examples of rewarded fairness and just action, or unsuccessful deceit, and on a more subtle level, the brothers act as manifestations of God's will on earth.

Fratricide is the result of pride. In E, this act involves the murder of a rightful king by a discontented usurper, who is the brother with whom the realm of Britain is shared, and who either considers his portion of the country to be inferior, or desires to rule over a united country. The disregard for rightful authority and pride, thinking he deserves better, motivates one brother to use his power in the subversion of the inherited order. This action results in both injustice for his brother who is challenged for his own rightful inheritance, and also for the community, for whom such a struggle for power reflects and results in a lack of concern for their welfare. It is the challenge to heredity, which involves the fair division of the country between two brothers, which provides a main form of injustice in E. The value of heredity in this version is further demonstrated in the assurance at the beginning of each chapter that the current king is the son of the previous ruler. The line of heredity is guaranteed, and every king whose name is known is listed, even if only his name is included. The significance of the line of descent in E is particularly apparent in the



chapter of Ferrers and Porrers, in which the termination of their family line serves as punishment of two brothers for their abuse of power and disregard of rightful inheritance.

Similar to the concept of the sea as participant in the elimination of injustice, nature also “acts” on behalf of God to punish the wicked when on land. In one case, wild animals act out God’s will, but in most cases, it is the human characters who avenge injustice and enact punishment on God’s behalf. Similar to the sea which will not allow a guilty man to survive upon it, it goes against nature in general for injustice to exist, and nature, reflecting God’s will for the world, will rectify offences to this order. This tendency is manifest in the structure of the legendary material, in the balancing of one chapter involving an evil king with another which describes a good, redeeming king. Each lesson exists in two periods - within the chapter, and in the following chapter. This allows variation in the demonstration of the consequences of injustice: within the chapter, punishment is clearly applicable to the perpetrator of injustice, and shows what punishment befalls an unjust ruler, while in a following chapter, the effect of injustice is shown to affect later generations.

One example of the representation of the abuse of power and injustice is the relationship between Manypris and Manlyn, the two heirs of Madahan. Manypris exhibits pride in his desire to rule all of Britain, and his intention to circumvent the established order or inheritance is an inappropriate use of power. The text thus presents two possible interpretations: the literal reader will conclude that condemnation of fratricide is the point of the chapter, and the analytical reader will perceive the violation of rightful order of inheritance as the more serious threat. Manypris commits a series of increasingly alarming violations which indicate his capacity for injustice and disregard for rightful authority. Britain is divided between Manypris and his brother Manlyn, but because Manypris wishes to rule the entire country, he murders his younger brother. This first violation of justice leads to worse sins: “and than was he kyng of all the londe. And after he forsoke his wyffe and vsted the synne of Sodome and therefore god toke vengeance of hym. For, on a day, as

he went on huntyng in a forest, he left all his men and went vp and doune, crying in the forest; and thenus came ij wolfes and devoured him".<sup>226</sup>

In the text, the murder of Manlyn, the abandonment of his wife, and choice of a male lover are presented as a progression of events, one violation enabling the next. As will be discussed below, the abandonment of a rightful wife is perceived in E as a violation of justice.<sup>227</sup> This crime therefore compounds his fratricide, and further, the description of his choice of a male lover as the "Synne of sodome" clearly establishes textual disapproval of homosexuality, and suggests that an unfortunate change in behaviour is a logical consequence of the previous violations: his abuse of power leads to further acts of injustice. As with Albyn and her sisters' involvement with monsters, Manypri's death in the forest, killed by wild animals, is a reflection of his beastly tendencies.<sup>228</sup>

The pattern of two brothers in competition for the control of Britain, one brother attempting to control more than is his inherited right, is repeated in the chapter of Belen and Brenne. Brenne, the younger of two brothers, is allotted the northern part of Britain: "Aftir this Denebande his ij sonnes Belen and Brenne departed the lande, so that Belen, that was eldest, hadd the lande of Brutane to Humber. And Brenne had the land fro Humber vnto Scotland, and forebecause that Brenne had the warse party he was wroth and went into Norway to king Elfing and praied him of help".<sup>229</sup> However, the allies are defeated. An agreement has been made; since "his ij sonnes Belen and Brenne departed the lande", presumably Brenne consents to the division, and only later decides he is dissatisfied. It is the attempt to manipulate a fairly established division of the country which the brothers each agreed upon which warrants Brenne's defeat. Belen therefore acts on the side of "right", in accordance with nature, in the defense of his kingdom, and justifiably drives his brother from the country.

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<sup>226</sup> E II. 196-203.

<sup>227</sup> Punishment for the abandonment of a rightful wife is established in the chapter of Lotrin, Guentolen, and Estrilde, discussed in the following section. See E II.152-86.

<sup>228</sup> As was Morwith, as discussed previously, killed by a wild monster. E II.431-37.

<sup>229</sup> E II. 349-56.

A further indication within the narrative that Belen uses his power appropriately and justly is his release of the captives detained originally through Brenne's treachery. A second invasion by Brenne is also overcome, and at this point Corwenne, their mother, intercedes and peace is restored. It is significant that, at the reconstruction of balance, the brothers agree to rule Britain in tandem again: they live in peace for a year in London and then proceed to conquer France, then Rome, and "many of the cuntres in there wey."<sup>230</sup> The re-establishment of proper order, the fair adherence to contracts, produces success. The brothers are rewarded by successful invasions of foreign countries, and as a result of this, the people of Britain will benefit from the new wealth and resources.

In a chapter involving a similar issue which results in fratricide, the brothers Ferrers and Porrers fight for control of Britain, and Ferrers kills his brother "for Ferrers wold haue hadd all". Because Porrers is their mother's favourite, she herself then kills Ferrers in his sleep, "And then was none aftir of that lineage that eny man knew."<sup>231</sup> The direct association of the mother's murder with the termination of the family line implies that these murders, injustice within the family, is punished by God through the termination of their lineage. It is not indicated in the chapter which brother is the elder; clearly it is not the right of primogeniture that is of primary significance. Rather, it is the abuse of power, the intent to disrupt the just inheritance and distribution of power which is punished.

Another example of the portrayal of punishment for those who perpetrate the abuse of power follows the inheritance of Britain from King Leir. Morgon and Conodag wage war upon Cordell, their aunt, who inherits the country from her father. They kill her and take control of the land, divide it between themselves, and rule together for twelve years. At this point, Morgon desires to rule Britain alone, and he wages war on his brother. But: "Canadag come vppon him with grete people and droffe Morgon into Walles and there slew him".<sup>232</sup> Canadag then takes control of the whole of Britain and rules for the next 33 years.

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<sup>230</sup> E II. 393-94.

<sup>231</sup> E II. 317-18. And see below section III.iii. for a discussion of Cordell.

<sup>232</sup> E II. 294-96.

In this instance, the fratricide is acceptable: it is Morgon's just punishment for his violation of the balance of power established between himself and his brother. In this chapter, as with all of the chapters involving one brother's attempt to forcibly take control of a sibling's rightful territory, pride may be seen as the ulterior motive, which characterises the motivation of the brother who violates the rightful order.

Pride may also directly serve as a pre-established sign of a character's guilt or innocence to the reader of *E*. In the case of Gynder, it is clear from the narrative what motivates his actions: "And after him [Kymbaline] regned Gynder and he was proude and he wold not pay the troage to the Emperour of Rome that Cassabylane had graunt Julius Cesar".<sup>233</sup> Since it is his personal pride which motivates his refusal to pay truage to Rome, and not for example, concern for Britain's treasury which would relate to his responsibility to the people of the country, it is clear to the reader that his action is inappropriate. Gynder is killed by a Roman, Humber, disguised as a fellow British soldier, but the rest of Gynder's army rally under Armager, dressed in his brother's armour. Humber is a Roman dressed as a Briton; this act of disguise symbolises the falseness of Gynder, while Armager's taking up of his brother's armour represents his rightful inheritance of the throne, as well as his counteraction of Gynder's misuse of power. Since generosity and concern for his subjects are the necessary characteristics for a good and just ruler in the *Brut*, Gynder's exaggerated concern with Rome's truage is a moral transgression, which detracts from his defense of his people. The opposite of the ideal, concerned king is one motivated by pride, and is associated specifically with the selfishness of a ruler and the resulting unwillingness or inability to act in the interest of his subjects.

These chapters provide an illustration of the application of power by male characters in *E*, for whom the narrative is straightforward in presenting events and their results. Male readers presumably identify directly with the male characters, and the message of justice is immediately apparent: betraying one's lot in life, or one's agreements

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<sup>233</sup> *E* ll. 546-49.

and contracts, is a violation of the proper order of nature, which may be punishable by death, or the death of an entire lineage. This is all quite straightforward. With female characters, however, the narrative is more insidious. Examined as a group, it is evident that the portrayal of queens, mothers and daughters is affected by the aim, not only to present the concept of justice in relation to female characters, but to also present an “acceptable” example for women. In this manner, E acts as a manual for distinct male and female behaviour; while both male and female readers are expected to follow examples in the text with regard to the theme of justice, female readers are also exposed to a construction of justice in which their access to power and general influence in the narrative becomes increasingly ineffectual. Despite chapters which present powerful female characters, the clear application of power in the E as a whole remains primarily within the sphere of the male characters.

### **III.iii. The Role of Female Characters in E**

In comparison to the male characters of E, for whom, as kings, power is an assumed attribute, female characters, as mothers, wives and daughters of kings, appear to lose power as the narrative progresses. Not only do female characters generally appear with less frequency, but they are portrayed with progressively less sympathy, and their characters become increasingly vulnerable as their control of power also diminishes. In the beginning of the legendary material, women appear to be privy to the same legal advantages, supported equally in cases of injustice, and susceptible to the same moral weaknesses as the male characters. In this they act as equivalent conveyers of justice to kings, a moral point of central importance in the E. Women become increasingly presented not as characters in their own right, but as a means of qualifying male characters; they become restricted to use as narrative tools as the text progresses, and are no longer presented as examples of either moral or immoral behaviour.

Specifically, it is the deterioration of their ability to act that demonstrates the decreasing value attributed to female characters. In the first part of the legendary material, the Time of Natural Law, Albyn and her sisters, Guentolen and Estrilde, and the characters of Samy and Ursula are all successful in achieving their own goal, albeit acting in situations determined by a male-centred social structure. They are able to utilise the power available to them in order to redress injustice with regard to themselves, and in doing so, are as active in the portrayal of this major theme in E as the male characters. However, the three characters who follow, in the Time of Moses, Guinevere, Arthur's queen, Merlin's mother, and Igraine, Arthur's mother are unable to enact their own goals, and are further disempowered by a diminished presence in the text. These women act largely as narrative devices, whose participation in events is limited to the definition of male characters: mother, wife, daughter.

Not unexpectedly for a medieval text, female characters in E are defined by their relationship to male characters, most commonly in either their earthly or spiritual marriage. Generally speaking, in this manuscript, while the female characters represent moral rectitude or depravity in a range of situations, as the male characters do, the examples they provide invariably exist in terms of hardships they endure as a result of marriage, in other words, in reaction to being acted upon by the male characters. All the abovementioned characters, Albyn and her sisters, Guentolen, Estrilde, Samy, Ursula, Guinevere, Merlin's mother, and Igraine are introduced into the narrative as a result of the distress caused them by marriage or a sexual relationship.<sup>234</sup> The vulnerability of the female characters, caused by this reliance upon male characters' action for their definition, intensifies as the legendary material progresses. When the reader encounters Burene Bokerd's wife, the first female characters in the "historical material", one finds a woman whose identity is entirely defined by a male action upon her: she is never named, her rape is described in the third person, she

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<sup>234</sup> An exception to this generalisation is Corwenne, the mother of Ferrers, and Porrers, who acts in the narrative on behalf of one of her sons, and is thus does not exist in relation to a mate.



exists in the narrative solely in terms of her rape and description of it, and it is her rape which functions to spur her husband to revenge and justice not for her, but for himself. The ability for women to act has been withdrawn by this point; since she cannot act as example, and therefore cannot act to encourage justice, she cannot defend herself, which is the method of justice acceptable in the earlier narrative, and since she is given no voice, she cannot even act to ask for justice through the efforts of male characters.

In the third period of time, the Time of Grace, women's attempts to establish justice are just as futile. Women in E neither act as example, nor are they able to create justice for themselves, and eventually, they are unworthy of justice and exist as proof of a male character's persona. It seems likely that as the narrative approaches the date of E, the inclusion of more recent stories would reflect more contemporary concepts of female behaviour. Powerful female characters in the ancient past are no threat, but a suggestion that women may have an effect on contemporary events would perhaps have been a more alarming prospect.

The presence of the stronger of the female characters deserves attention; they may be seen as examples designed for women to read and emulate – and there is evidence that the *Brut* had female readers<sup>235</sup> – written to appeal to women for their apparent lack of misogyny. As Susan Schibanoff explains, apologies were often included in medieval texts known to be offensive to women, and such apologies were claimed to be attempts to conciliate offended female readers; in fact they act to “justify” the offending text, rather than alter it to be inoffensive.<sup>236</sup> In the case of E, the portrayals of the particularly admirable female characters, such as Guentolen and Estrilde, may be seen as a reparation, a lure to women readers, who, in order to accept these women as “true” and as models, also unknowingly accept the male background in which they function. Guentolen and Estrilde are uniquely able to use power to attain their aims: Guentolen raises an army to avenge

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<sup>235</sup> Matheson refers to inscriptions of women's names in *Brut* manuscripts as an indication of ownership as well as a female readership. (Matheson 1998:13)

<sup>236</sup> Schibanoff (1994:222)

herself upon her husband who attempts to displace her from her rightful role as his queen, and Estrilde, the woman for whom Guentolen is betrayed, is, despite her inferior position, able to exert considerable control over her own fate. If female readers accept some characters as role models, in order to be consistent, they must also accept the less inspiring treatment of women as the text progresses. It is “safe” for a text to contain characters such as Estrilde and Guentolen, and even Samy, since, even if female readers extract their actions from the narrative, to disassociate them from the remaining female characters, they still exist in a period of history remarkably distant from the contemporary reader. The representations become less independent in the later material. Queen Anne, for example, appearing closer in time to the reader, would create a stronger association between the female reader and these “acceptable” characteristics.

The first female characters, indeed the first characters in the *Brut*, are Albyn and her sisters.<sup>237</sup> Restricted not only by marriage, but by socially unfavourable marriage, “yt befell that Dame Albyn, the eldest daughter, wex prowde and grete-willed and wolde not be ruled by here housbande, and in lyke wyse dede all her susters”.<sup>238</sup> Pride is exemplified in the first chapter, and its presence is the key to the moral decline of the sisters. To escape their husbands, the sisters plan to murder them. Their civic punishment for this murder is exile and the punishment for the sin of pride occurs on the island, which is revealed in the animalistic manner in which they survive, and also through their vulnerability to suggestion and seduction by the devil. From one point of view, Albyn and her sisters are strong characters; they are able to resolve the situation without the help of male characters. This is the only instance in which female characters, victims of injustice, are able to independently defend themselves. Significantly, of course, the manner of their revenge is murder,

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<sup>237</sup> The point that the first characters in the *Brut* are women is significant, in contrast to Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *HRB*, in which the first character is Brute. The addition of the story of Albyn and her sisters not only provides the giants for Brute to conquer, but also makes these monsters particularly worthy of him, as the offspring of noble Syrian women.

<sup>238</sup> E II.13-17. The marriage of noble women to men below their station as “humiliating and degrading” is a device likely to have been inherited from the *Brut*’s Anglo-Norman forebears. Weiss (1996:8) This device may also be seen in the chapter of Hauelock and Goldesburgh, EUL II. 1333-41, which was a popular Anglo-Norman *lai*.

obviously an unacceptable solution, and possibly an outcome which may have indicated to a medieval reader what chaos results when women have charge of their own fate. These events establish a mould for the rest of the narrative in the balance of justice maintained through the appropriate punishment of characters who commit a sin or a crime, but also in the deceptively independent situations of the female characters. The role of women in E as a whole may be examined by means of this recurrent theme; in the beginning of the legendary material, female characters are as capable of upsetting the balance of justice as the male characters, and they are also as likely to act in order to maintain it. Further in this first section, women's action, or power, is eroded. While no more likely participate in disruption, injustice against women persists, which amplifies their dependence upon male defense in cases of offenses against themselves.

The most conspicuous example of powerful female characters and their participation in the establishment of justice occurs early in the narrative, in the chapter of Lotrine, Brute's eldest son and King of England. The E does not present a detailed version of this story: the origin of Estrilde, for instance, is not mentioned. Therefore, although this discussion will refer primarily to the E version, in order to provide a fuller description of this story and to facilitate this discussion, reference to Brie's edition is necessary. The two women in this chapter, Guentolen and Estrilde, are Lotrine's legally betrothed fiancée and his lover, respectively. They are both influential characters in relation to the actual progression of events - in fact they are the controlling agents. Although as characters, Guentolen and Estrilde are at odds with each other, it is between the two of them that justice is maintained. If one reads this text, as discussed above, using the medieval approach, focusing not on the literal outcome of events, but on the analysis of events as the means by which the moral point is expressed, the reader may be lulled into disregard of the women's actual situation. Although they are indeed strong characters, and they do act forcefully, possessing the power to enact their own revenge, Guentolen and Estrilde nonetheless are motivated to these

actions by their legal and sexual relationship with Lotrine, not by an independent desire to maintain justice in Britain, which they do in fact achieve.

The two female characters in this chapter react to developments regarding their marriage; Lotrine is betrothed to Guentolen, the daughter of the king of Cornwall, but wishes to break this engagement and instead marry Estrilde, the captive Saxon daughter of the defeated Humbar. Coryn, Guentolen's father, threatens to kill Lotrine for this violation, a threat which has further implications of internal war. Lotrine proves himself an unworthy king: his desire to breach a political agreement for personal reasons reveals a selfish lack of primary concern for his subjects. In fact it is his mistress, Estrilde, who acts generously and selflessly, interfering between Lotrine and Coryn: "Estrild the maiden went betwene them and acorded hem on this maner, so that Lotryne schuld spouse Coryn doughter, that men called Guentolen. And so he dide".<sup>239</sup> Lotrine's intention to cancel his agreement is unjust, and perversely, it is Estrilde who acts as the champion of justice.

The narrative provides the reader with no indication of Estrild's opinion of this situation; it is from her action alone that motivation may be determined. As peacemaker, preventing immediate war between the two kings, and by remaining as Lotrine's lover, she enables him to fulfil his oath to marry Guentolen and yet also attain his own desire: herself. Obviously this is a confusing and contradictory representation of "exemplary" female behaviour. On the surface, Estrilde acts boldly, mediating between two warring kings and preventing civil war. But this impression of boldness of characters is deceptive: Estrilde's motivation is unlikely to be the preservation of peace in a country foreign to her, nor is her sympathy likely to be with a foreign king who kidnaps her from her father's ship in order to have her as mistress. Rather, Estrilde represents the use of power to uphold justice. As the king's mistress, she is a relatively powerful character, and she uses this power to arrange a meeting between two regional kings and negotiate a compromise which will avoid war. Her behaviour may also be interpreted as a subtle presentation of a woman accepting her

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<sup>239</sup> E ll. 162-65.

situation; the reader is not aware of any struggle on Estrilde's part in resistance to her capture, nor of any subsequent protest upon realising Lotrine's intention for her. While she appears to act as a strong woman acting successfully in the realm of kings, she is also a woman whose actions are determined by her position as a mistress, whose brave and noble actions, in the end, do not save her.

Guentolen may be the only genuinely independent female character in E. When Coryn dies, he leaves Guentolen, now married to Lotrine, vulnerable; Lotrine believes he may safely put her aside and marry his mistress. Estrilde does not interfere this time; instead, it is Guentolen who, inheriting her father's kingdom, "raised moche people of that cuntre to be avenged on Lotryne, and come and gaffe hym a batell. And there was Lotryne slayne".<sup>240</sup> Although again motivated initially in relation to an offense of her husband's, Guentolen acts to redress the injustice done to herself, and not only is she automatically accepted as heir to her father's country, and raises an army in her support, but she succeeds in killing a king, otherwise of course, an act of treason.

The relationship between Guentolen and Lotrine may be compared to that of two brothers jointly ruling Britain. In the latter situation, two brothers share the country, and one region may be presented as inferior, but the significant point is that they are intended to rule together, and that it is the honouring of the commitment that is vital. The legal betrothal between Guentolen and Lotrine is similar to this fraternal relationship; each of them inherits a region of Britain and with the betrothal, they agree to rule together. Lotrine's attempt to violate his betrothal is an attack, an attempt to circumvent Guentolen's rightful heredity, solidified by the legal agreement, which entitles her to marry him. His later attempt to dispose of her is also a threat to her native land of Cornwall; in marriage, Lotrine presumably would also rule the land she inherits from her father, and also presumably, would not offer it back. Her response is also comparable to that of the offended brother. She raises an army, attacks Lotrine, and, as the character acting to re-establish

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<sup>240</sup> E II. 174-77.

justice, she is successful. She drowns Estrilde and her daughter by Lotrine, Abron (for whom the river Severn is named); they may be seen as the physical result of Lotrine's violation of Guentolen and she is thus justified in their destruction. In addition, as Lotrine's heir, Abron may have represented a real threat to Madahan, Guentolen's son by Lotrine. Textual support for Guentolen as the purveyor of justice comes not only in the form of her success in battle. Guentolen also rules as Queen, since Madahan is too young to rule, which is only one of two instances in E in which a woman rules the country.<sup>241</sup>

It is necessary, in narrative terms, for Guentolen to kill Estrilde and Abron. Despite Estrilde's likely involuntary removal from her ship and subsequent involvement in British affairs, and despite her heroic participation in the resolution of a potentially disastrous argument, in terms of the theme of justice, Estrilde contributes to the furtherance of injustice by marrying the king. Of course, it is unlikely that Estrilde would be given the opportunity to refuse the king's offer of marriage, and therefore the extent of blame that can be fairly placed on her is limited. Estrilde's character is used to further the narrative, and in this chapter the result is inconsistent behaviour on her part. She is the physical manifestation of the point of the narrative, the symbol of injustice, and in her death she symbolises the destruction of whatever force caused the imbalance of injustice in the realm.

Guentolen herself becomes queen of England until her son is of age: "and then Guentolen was crowned Quene agane, and whenne Madahan, here sone that Lotryne had gotten vppon here, was xv yere olde, sche lette croune him kyng. And thenne went sche into Corwaile and there lyved all here lyfe."<sup>242</sup> At the end of her service to the kingdom, Guentolen returns to her home country. The significance of Lotrine's actions may be interpreted as more than an insult to his wife: it reveals his unreliability as king, a tendency toward injustice that is unacceptable, and which, more importantly, has implications for the fairness of his dealings with his subjects. This is the first chapter which involves the issue

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<sup>241</sup> The other female character who rules the country is Cordell. It is significant that while Cordell rules simply because she inherits the kingdom from her father, Guentolen rules because she has killed the king and assumes the throne.

<sup>242</sup> E II. 181-86.



of the proper use of power, and the maintenance of justice by a king, a ubiquitous theme in E, and it is female characters who provide a strong example, in this case, of the portrayal of just actions, in which the sex of the avenging character is irrelevant.

Guentolen and Estrilde represent contrasting images of acceptable femininity for a female reader. Estrilde is the more “typical,” self-sacrificing and sacrificed, while Guentolen is the aggressively protective mother and queen. Also to be expected, these two characterisations are mutually exclusive within the framework in which women function in relation to husbands: Lotrine cannot have two wives simultaneously, but in more significant terms, these two women may not co-exist in primary relation to him. Guentolen is the more dominant, obtaining the position of queen instead of the meeker but useful Estrilde, and in her determination to maintain her position, which is the height of “justice” in relation to the “woman’s world,”<sup>243</sup> she must rid herself of her competition. Therefore, despite the possibility for action which is attractive and also deceptive, Guentolen and Estrilde are ultimately confined to a limited conception of appropriate behaviour. Guentolen and Estrilde are the most powerful women in E. Although restrained by certain societal boundaries, they are successful in their action: as examples for female any readers, they act to control their lives by creating justice.

The chapter of Ursula represents one of the predominant medieval classifications of women, that of the “virgin”.<sup>244</sup> Her chapter can be seen, like that of Arthur and Merlin, to have been adapted into the legendary material of the *Brut* from an independent tradition, in this case, of “virgin martyr hagiography”.<sup>245</sup> In E, Ursula is introduced into the narrative in

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<sup>243</sup> By this expression I refer to a construct of a “woman’s world” in which female characters were placed, with their primary concerns forever revolving around marriage, the desires of her husband and children.

<sup>244</sup> Wogan-Browne (1994:165-68): “In medieval accounts of occupational categories [...] women are seldom mentioned at all. When they are, there are two careers they can have: the biologically active one of wife or the professionally chaste one of nun.” Virginity in this sense is considered a “mode of life”, as opposed to “maydenhede”, the physical condition, and refers to the choice of the woman to renounce human male partnership in lieu of Christ, the “best groom of all”. This attitude is attributed to “virginity writers” of the later middle ages and therefore particularly relevant to this 15<sup>th</sup> century *Brut*.

<sup>245</sup> Wogan-Browne (1994:163)

relation to her marriage: the king of Brittany, Conan, and his men, are unmarried “bycause that he and his meyny that were Bretanes wolde haue not wifes of the frensche nacon, [therefore] he sent into Grete Brutane to th’erle of Cornwaile, that hight Dionotho, that he schuld sende him xj m+ maidens”.<sup>246</sup> The earl sends for marriageable women from all over the country, gathers them in London, and equips ships to carry them to France. He includes his own daughter, Ursula, “that was the fairest creature in the worlde, and thought that Conan schulde he wedde”.<sup>247</sup> There is a distinction made between the calibre of the women, and only noblewomen are appropriate matches for the noblemen who are settled in France: “this Conan, king of litell Bretane, [...] sent into Grete Brutane to th’erle of Cornwaile, that hight Dionotho, that he schuld sende him xj m+ maidens, that ys to sey iij m+ of grete birthe and viij m+ of other.”<sup>248</sup> Ursula, intended by her father for Conan, king of Little Britain, is correspondingly the most noble of them all. Her beauty and nobility are significant points in relation to her decision to choose God over an earthly husband; her sacrifice of her most valuable life to maintain her virginity is all the more admirable since she is worth so much as an earthly bride.

As is characteristic of *Virgin Lives*, Ursula chooses a chaste life as an outward indication of her dedication to God. Her dedication is tested to its limit, another feature of this genre, and Ursula is ultimately killed in the successful defense of her virginity. Her virginity is a symbol of her faith; death is preferable to violation according to the Christian ethos, particularly since the true state of “virginity was not possible without martyrdom”.<sup>249</sup> It is interesting to note that while the ship-bound women are unable to defend themselves from brutal attack and murder, they are physically able to resist rape. This indicates the sanctity of the women’s choice to remain chaste for religious reasons - by defending their bodies they are defending Christianity. A further connection may be established between the representation of unbreached faith and the body of Ursula herself. Defending her

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<sup>246</sup> E II. 732-37.

<sup>247</sup> E II. 743-34.

<sup>248</sup> E MS II. 732, 735-38.

<sup>249</sup> Schulenburg (1986:60)

virginity, Ursula defends the Christian faith: “the boundaries of Christian polity are policed on the bodies of virgins: represented bodily integrity serves as an exclusionary definition of Christian community asserted against the ‘pagan’.”<sup>250</sup> From Ursula’s willingness to die for her spiritual devotion, it follows that she will not resist death, in fact she prefers it in this instance, advising her fellow passengers “that thei schuld kepe there virginitie and rather than thei schuld lese their virginitie for to dye and all the maydens assented there to and seide thei wolde rather suffre deth for the loue of god and thei withstode the king”.<sup>251</sup>

According to Jocelyn Wogan-Browne,

The major category of female saint, the virgin martyr, offers exemplary narratives in which the saint’s best demonstration of sanctity is her preference for death over dishonour, and where her ability to pursue and defend her faith is met with savage and spectacular torture by a patriarchy presented as pagan but sharing some behaviour (such as readiness to constrain daughters and to refuse to hear their refusals) with Christian fathers and suitors.<sup>252</sup>

Also typical of this genre, and particularly interesting with regard to the usual dependent relationship of female upon male characters in the *Brut*, Ursula’s resistance causes the ultimate destruction of her aggressors. She and her companions are re-routed by a storm into the Saracen-controlled port of Cologne. The Saracen leader Gowane, having seen the women’s beauty, determines that he and his men will rape them.<sup>253</sup> Ursula and her followers agree that “thei wolde rather suffre deth for the loue of god” than allow the Saracens access to their bodies, and it is their resistance which so frustrates Gowane that he orders the women be killed: “thei withstode the king and his meyne and faught with hem. Wherfor the king was wroth and made to slee hem all”.<sup>254</sup> Although the description of Gowane’s reaction is curtailed in E, the mass slaughter of young women by soldiers may be

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<sup>250</sup> Wogan-Browne (1994:177)

<sup>251</sup> E ll. 758-62.

<sup>252</sup> Wogan-Browne (1996:64)

<sup>253</sup> Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg provides an interesting discussion of the intentional, often severe self-disfigurement of medieval women, spiritual women in particular, in an effort to specifically discourage rape. It is relevant then, that Ursula’s particular beauty is noted in her chapter, perhaps as an explanation for the Saracens’ determination.

<sup>254</sup> E ll. 762-64

seen as an unreasonable act by a man unexpectedly frustrated to the extent that he loses all sense. This hagiography clearly progresses in accordance with aggressors in this tradition who are frustrated and react violently: “clearly victims of their own desire [...] the hectic masculinity [...] by which they express their will rebounds on them, and they end up mad”; the slaughter of the virgins may easily be attributed to madness.<sup>255</sup>

Like Guentolen and Estrilde, Ursula is primarily defined in relation to “marriage”, in that she chooses to be a “bride of Christ”, and is also chosen to be an earthly bride. Ursula’s self-determination is restricted within the boundaries of the male figure with whom she will identify. However, the illusion of choice itself is significant; it is the power of choice, and the action of making the choice, which allows a female character to appear to have power over her own life. The monastic life seems to offer a legitimate alternative to arranged marriage, and to legitimately free a woman from the “very real fears and dangers of childbirth”;<sup>256</sup> the choice of a “virgin” life commits her to a life with a husband who is only spiritually present, and in addition, theoretically provided protection from physical attack. However, to imply that the choice of the spiritual life is an act of independence is to underestimate the extent to which textual *representations* of society, secular and religious, were completely constructed around male authority.<sup>257</sup> The conflict between the action of female power in a male-structured text is reconciled by the fact that it is not truly “action”. The representation of female power is often deceptive in E, as is the implication that the choice of monastic life was a free one, in life as well as in literature. The choice between marriage and monastic life is a choice of commitment to one type of male authority or other, marriage to a man, or “marriage” to Christ and thus subject to Church authority, which is ultimately male.

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<sup>255</sup> Wogan-Browne (1994:178)

<sup>256</sup> Schulenburg (1986:41)

<sup>257</sup> “—even the highest ranking, longest-established and economically most secure communities ruled over by abbesses remain essentially sub-cultures, contained within male monasticism, on conceded and partially occluded territory.” Wogan-Browne (1992:27).

Even having joined a monastic community, women were controlled by rules created by their male counterparts, therefore actually existing in another “woman’s world” created by men, not other women. The medieval portrayal of reclusive life for women as nurturing and protective is as much an artificial construct as the concept in E that the female characters act of their own accord, rather than being forced into action by male characters. According to Jocelyn Wogan-Brown, treatises praising monastic life for women offer dire warnings of marriage, providing vivid images of household chaos and drudgery, economic trials, as well as “graphic accounts of violence and sexual harassment within marriage [...] and of the pains of pregnancy”;<sup>258</sup> by contrast, life in the convent is calm and peaceful. Therefore a woman choosing a religious life, believing she is choosing a kind of independence from male governance, may be simply unaware of underlying male authority, and the reader of such a text may be unaware of the subtle construction of the “background” of E, which favours female submission and offers no real alternative to a subordinate life.

Although the woman’s choice to be a “virgin” is inspired by Christian patriarchal values, her actions within this self-determination may yet be seen as more independent than those of secular women, who are more likely to be simply married off. It may be argued that female martyrs, having chosen to dedicate their lives to virginity, are committed to acceptable values and are regarded as “safe”: their actions cannot be threatening and they cannot be interpreted as acting against the predominant paradigm of male authority. Even within this system of male-ordered religion, “the lives [of religious women] offer an important model of resistance [...] these texts, with their heroines’ supernaturally underwritten insistence that when women say no, no is what they mean, can offer serious encouragement to female readers.”<sup>259</sup> Although the choice between subjection to human or godly man may be viewed as merely a choice of two evils, with no *real* alternative available, and thus no opportunity to truly act in her own interest, it may still be argued that, in comparison to women already married in the E, Ursula is uniquely able to act on her own

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<sup>258</sup> Wogan-Browne (1994:170)

<sup>259</sup> Wogan-Browne (1994:181)

behalf. She is able to act in her own life at an earlier stage than the married women, to choose her own marriage, which is not an option for any other female character in this *Brut*. The underlying encouragement, in this tale and in the others in the *Brut*, for women to exist within a male-organised society, does not completely overwhelm the power of action the reader witnesses when Ursula and her companions decide to retain their virginity, and subsequently resist the attacks by the Saracens.

The significance of Ursula's choice is notable because it is not made in an attempt to redress an injustice, as is more typical of female characters in E. Unlike the injustice involving female characters in other chapters, which requires redress by means of action, in Ursula's chapter the action involves a direct choice by the female character, which comes prior to the injustice, and the injustice appears initially to be unavenged. This is a hagiography, and therefore we are dealing with different rules regarding the aim and structure of the story; the inversion of the order of injustice and action results in the martyrdom of Ursula, while the deaths of the Saracens, by Ursula's potential brother-in-law, provide the anticipated revenge. These conclusions satisfy both the aim of the hagiography and the theme of justice in E.

Ursula is clearly portrayed in a very different manner in her hagiography than male saints, including Austeyn and Merlin in E. One of the tradition of virgin martyrs, she must necessarily die in the maintenance of Christianity, and her "choices" are thus determined by a patriarchal system of values. Unaware of these limitations, since propagandist literature encourages women to join the spiritual life, it is easy for readers to perceive her actions as noble, and as a result of her own choices for her life. And although this is deceptive in one sense, since she is still acting within an acceptable framework of male authority, in another sense the reader should recognise that at least she is not merely *reacting* to male aggression, as is the case for the rest of the female characters in E. The reader is not informed of Ursula's motivation for her "vow to live chaste", only that she makes this vow before she is promised to Conan. The implication, therefore, is that she is destined for religious life



because of her own innate spirituality, rather than an attempt to escape secular marriage. In a limited sense, therefore, because of her determination to follow her spiritual inclinations, which thereby commits her to male authority, Ursula is permitted to act with a unique confidence.

In the chapter in which Samy appears, the rule of Britain is shared between Belen and Branne, with the eldest, Belen, ruling Britain from the Humber river south, and Branne therefore allotted the area of Britain from the Humber through Scotland. Branne intends to take his brother's half through force and rule the whole of Britain himself, and so travels to Norway in search of allies. He offers to marry the Norse king's daughter, Samy, in exchange for military help against Belen, which the king accepts. Samy is then put aboard a ship, like Ursula, intended for an undesired marriage. Also like Ursula, Samy privately has a previous emotional commitment: to Coutlage, the king of Denmark. There is a clear agreement between them, as there is between Ursula and God, as she sends to him for help and he responds. The Danish king rescues Samy from Branne, but their ship, again similar to events in the chapter of Ursula, is driven by a "tempest" to Britain, instead of back to Denmark. Although they are captured, it is by the elder brother Belen, who, having defended himself from his brother, makes a fair pact with the Danish king and allows Samy to return to Denmark with Coutlage.

Samy's relation to the use of power in this chapter, like Albyn and her sisters, Guentolen, Estrilde, and Ursula, involves her relation to marriage. In addition, Samy's use of power has a significant political effect; by preventing an unwanted marriage, she effectively obstructs the alliance between her father and Branne, which presents an obstacle for Branne's attempt at military alliance, eventually resulting in his defeat. Samy's actions are logical and successful; surrounded by those with whom she has little influence, Samy uses the means available to her. The subsequent chapter of Ursula reveals further loss of independence. Both women are involuntarily committed to an undesired marriage, but Samy, although unable to enact her own justice, is still able to ask for assistance, while

Ursula, following Samy in the narrative, is completely vulnerable to the desires of Conan, her father, and subsequently, Gowan.

As the text progresses, the female characters are deprived of self-definition as well as power. Instead of existing as characters whose action and will is taken into consideration in the narrative, the women in E begin to solely exist in order to function as the embodiment of an ideal within this male-constricted narrative. For example, Rowen, the daughter of Hengist, a Saxon king settling in Britain, is present in the narrative only as a means for her father to obtain land in England. Hengist sends for Rowen, and “whenne she was comen he praied the king to come dyne with him and se his new castell that he hadd made”.<sup>260</sup> The invitation to view the castle is a pretext that will facilitate a meeting between Rowen and the king. Rowen only appears in the narrative to the king, under the most intimate of circumstances: “whenne he [the king] had dyned and sowped and was gone to his chambre toward his bedde, Rowen come forth before the king with a coppa of golde in here hande and kneled byfore the king and seide “Wassaile” [...] And the king drank vnto hire and hir kessed; And he was so anamord on hir that he desired of hir ffader, Engest, that me myght hir wedde”.<sup>261</sup>

Although part of a ceremony which demonstrates respect to an honoured guest, the situation nonetheless provides the king with an opportunity to view Rowen privately, to appreciate her beauty and to be overcome with desire to marry her, which is clearly Hengist’s intention. Hengist agrees to give his daughter to the king in exchange for the land of Kent. The result of this marriage for Vortigern is disaster: “And the king graunted [the land to Hengist] and wedded Rowen, which was to his grete hurte, ffor Bretones loued him neuer after it”.<sup>262</sup> In Brie’s text, the reason for this intense dislike is explained more fully: “and þerfore al þe Britouns bicom so wroþ, for enchesoun þat he hade spoused a womman of mysbileue, wherfore þai went al from him, and noþing to him toke kepe, ne

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<sup>260</sup> E ll. 861-63

<sup>261</sup> E ll. 864-69, ll.874-78.

<sup>262</sup> E ll. 881-3.

helpe him in Þinges þat he hade to done.”<sup>263</sup> The general displeasure with the king’s marriage to a pagan is revealed in the next chapter of E, when Vortigern is deposed: “And anone after the bretanes did depose Vortigern and made Vortimer, his sonne that he had gotten of his first wife, king”.<sup>264</sup> It is the alliance between Vortigern and Hengist which motivates the Britons to depose their king: “[the Britons] wolde soffre Vortiger no longer to regne, for enchesoun of þe alliance bituene Engist and him”.<sup>265</sup> Rowen is the physical representation of this alliance, and yet it is not to her that the Britons object. In fact she is of little relevance; it is the *marriage* that causes Vortigern to be disliked. The marriage is interpreted by the Britons in terms of a relationship between the king and Hengist, not between the king and his wife. The son who inherits from Vortigern is noted in the text as the child of his *first* wife, presumably a Christian and a native Briton, and thus much more favoured by the British populace.

In this chapter, although existing only as a bargaining tool, Rowen has her own voice, and speaks to the king in greeting in his chamber. Initially, she speaks to Vortigern in her own language, which he cannot understand. Provided a translation by a nearby courtier, the king is granted access to her; he kisses her and then asks for her in marriage. Speech in this instance is a form of power which replaces the ability to act. Speech is unusual in E, which makes it all the more noticeable coming from a female character. Compared to Ursula and Samy, with regard to their arranged marriages, Rowen has even less effect upon the course her father determines for her. She has not made an independent choice in the form of a private vow upon which she may rely to free her from this commitment, and her opinion of the marriage is not noted in either E or in Brie’s text. In fact, her ability to speak may be an attempt to indicate her agreement to the marriage, since her words are a Saxon welcome toast.

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<sup>263</sup> Brie (1906:52 ll.23-26).

<sup>264</sup> E ll. 888-90.

<sup>265</sup> Brie (1906:53 ll.9-10)

The character of Guinevere represents further development of the female character in E. Guinevere has a very limited role in E and in the versions of the *Brut* presented in Brie. There is no mention of her involvement in extra-marital romance, and indeed no mention of Lancelot at all. Guinevere has no substantial role in what is primarily a narrative of military conquest. She is married to Arthur when he has “sett his reame in pese,”<sup>266</sup> which immediately establishes her as of secondary importance to military exploit. She is not mentioned again until Arthur’s final battle against Mordred. The presentation of Guinevere’s participation in Mordred’s treachery is worthy of note, since it is her sexual betrayal of Arthur for which she is condemned in most familiar versions of Arthurian material. Her relationship to Mordred is passive: “[he] helde Gyamore the quene as his paramour.”<sup>267</sup> The language used suggests that Guinevere has been *taken* by Mordred, kidnapped and raped, and more importantly, does not portray this arrangement as her betrayal of Arthur.

This interpretation is further supported by her reaction upon receiving the news of Arthur’s fatal wound: “and Arthour was wounded to the deth and whenne Gyamore, the quene, wiste therof sche stale prively away and went to Carlion, and ther prively toke the abyte of a none and ther duellyd all here lyffe.”<sup>268</sup> In contrast to her capture and thus control by Mordred, Guinevere is not forced into the nunnery by Arthur: Guinevere is not *taken* to the nunnery by a male character, nor is her retreat there portrayed as punishment, self-imposed or otherwise, for betrayal of the king. Instead, she goes to the nunnery under her own power, and seemingly, does so grieving; her departure is described in the narrative immediately after the news of Arthur’s imminent death.

While it is refreshing to see Guinevere escaping the blame for the destruction of Arthur’s empire, her treatment conforms to that of a female character defined by the male participants in her life. Her action is limited in the narrative to, and indeed she is only

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<sup>266</sup> E II. 1178-79.

<sup>267</sup> E II. 1287-88.

<sup>268</sup> E II. 1303-07.

mentioned in relation to Arthur or Mordred: she is married, she is captured, and she retreats. And while it may appear that Guinevere's retreat is the enactment of her own will at last, free from both husband and captor, it is in fact precisely because there is no male secular character left upon whom she can be dependent, that she is placed there. Her action may be interpreted as the escape from the world of men, but it is in fact a retreat to *another* system of male control.

Guinevere is unique because, unlike most female characters who deny one form of marriage for another, either earthly marriage or virginal dedication to Christ, Guinevere chooses both. She is in a unique position in relation to the representations of male authority in her life. Because the character of Lancelot, traditionally Guinevere's defender, does not appear in this manuscript, the queen does not have a champion; she is not legitimately "claimed" by Mordred, who thus cannot defend her in any way, and Arthur, who is her rightful champion, returns to Britain to recover his country, not primarily to recover or avenge his wife. In fact there is no mention in the text of Arthur's concern for her, or attempt to rescue her. As a result, she is left in an awkward position when Arthur and Mordred both are killed. Neither defended by Arthur in life, nor able to defend herself as Guentolen is able to, Guinevere is failed by one system of marriage, and has no choice but to abandon the whole situation for circumstance in which, theoretically, she would not be called upon to defend herself.

It thus appears that Guinevere is offered a range of choices and she retreats in peace to the world of women. In fact, Guinevere's retreat to the nunnery seems more like a convenient way to textually "get rid" of her, since, not having, not deserving a champion, she is without a means of definition, and is assigned the lifestyle of virginity. Her action to enter the convent may be seen as an escape, but also may be interpreted as her own realisation that, with Arthur dying, she must seek another place for herself: "and Arthour was wounded to the deth. And whenne Gyamore, the quene, wiste thereof sche stale prively away and went to Carlion, and ther prively toke the abyte of a none and ther duellyd all here

lyffe.”<sup>269</sup> Guinevere does this in secret, “prively”, which suggests that she is ashamed of her forced relationship with Mordred, and perhaps fearing that if her intention was known, it would be prevented. A woman in such a position might well flee secretly to a nunnery in order to avoid re-marriage or re-capture.

In another sense she is unable to act; unlike Guentolen who was able to take the throne until her son was of age, Guinevere is childless and therefore has no claim to retain even her position as queen. Guinevere is consistently denied any means of self-definition and the means to act in her own interests. She does not act, but is acted upon. She has no voice in the text, and in the end, is even bereft of the male characters who may define her, including a son. She is the logical conclusion of a character who exists solely in relation to others; when the others disappear, she is unplaceable.

While Guinevere is childless and therefore devoid of that acceptable means of self-definition, the characters Igraine and Merlin’s mother are present solely as the means by which important male children may be born. The incongruity of Merlin involving himself in such a personal scheme as the physical disguise of Uther to deceive Igraine has one worthwhile aim: the conception and birth of Arthur. The entirety of Igraine’s existence is defined by her husband, Corloys, her king, Uther, Merlin, and her son, Arthur. Igraine never *does* anything; in the language of E she is seen, removed, fortified, deceived, impregnated, widowed, re-married, and delivered of two children: “the king [Uther] was anamourde of Igern”, which Corloys notices and leaves court “in wrath and toke his wiffe with him”; once disguised by Merlin’s magic to look like her husband, Uther “lay all nyght be Igern”, “he gate vppon here Artour that after was king”, “the king anone wedded Igern and made hire quene, and after sche was deliuerd of Artour, and also sche hadde a doughter called Anna.”<sup>270</sup> It is interesting to note that although Igraine *is delivered of* Arthur, she *delivers* Anna; the one instance in which Igraine is given control in the chapter is in the birth of her daughter.

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<sup>269</sup> E II. 1303-07.

<sup>270</sup> E II. 1109-12, 1117-20, 1122-25.



By contrast, Merlin's mother is given the occasion to explain, to prove to the male audience in the narrative the truth of Merlin's immaculate conception. But this apparent opportunity of action is subtly forestalled; the description of the magical lover is told, not in her own words, but in the third person: "sche ansuerd, wepyng, and seid that sche hadde neuer to do with man, but on a tyme as sche was in hire chambre alone and the dures fast loked, to hire come a faire yong man and lay be hire. But which wey he entred in the chambre sche wiste notte, and whenne he had lyen be hire he vanysched away, sche wist not whiche wey, and so he come to hire diuers tymes; 'and so was Merlyne begoten of my body.'" <sup>271</sup> Merlin's mother, never named, speaks one, concluding line, as if to claim the foregoing description: "and so was Merlyne begoten of my body." <sup>272</sup> She is allowed to describe the birth of her son, but not the magical visits of her lover so that her character is identified with her childbirth, not her sexuality.

Although most of what she "explains" is reclaimed by the narrator, the ability to speak at all by Merlin's mother requires the reader's attention to be focused upon her solely, which represents a stronger action in the narrative. In accordance with the progression of female characters in E, in which female characters are increasingly unable to perform any sort of action, Igraine, unable to either speak or act, appears in the legendary material after Merlin's mother. In the narrative order of the legendary material, Guinevere is the last of the legendary female characters who has any significant role. Tracing the progression of female characters from Albyn to Estrilde and Guentolen, to Ursula and Samy, Guinevere's character represents the absence of any direct action by women in E, as well as the complete removal of identity in female characters. Each character provides an example of a woman who has been disempowered in some sense: by loss of action, loss of voice, loss of presence, loss of identity. Although some of the constructions of female characters are stronger than others, none of the female characters truly possess the ability to act, because they exist solely in relation to other, male, characters; none of them are introduced in their own right,

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<sup>271</sup> E ll. 971-79.

<sup>272</sup> E l. 979.

and however “strong” they are designed to appear, this lack of independence effectively limits their “action” and reaction.

The gradual removal of the capacity to act is developed further in the portrayal of the wife of Burene Bokerd, who appears in the section of E referred to in this thesis as the “historical material.” This character suffers more than all her female predecessors: she lacks a name, a voice, a champion and therefore the ability to inspire action, and an identity separate from her rape. She is only mentioned in relation to her physical abuse: while hunting, king Osbryght happens upon the castle of Bokerd, “And this Osbryght with strenght forlay his [Bokerd’s] wiffe agane hire will”.<sup>273</sup> Bokerd returns home and his wife describes what has happened; she is “wepying” and “schamed”, and Bokerd approaches the king of Denmark to ask for assistance in his revenge. Bokerd tells the Danish king “of the dispite þat Osbryght had done **vnto him** and praied him of help to distroie him”.<sup>274</sup> The narrative clearly describes the wife’s rape and her shame, but it is the insult to himself Bokerd intends to avenge, and the wife is not mentioned again. In Brie, as with most other chapters in the historical material and quite a few in the Legendary, the narrative provides more embellishment, and thus a more emotionally evocative tale: Buerne is a faithful servant of the king, absent from the castle on the day of his wife’s rape, searching the coast, as is his habit, for “Þeues & robboures, þat ofte-tymes were wont to come into þe londe to robbe & brenne and slee.”<sup>275</sup> The king is also portrayed as more deceptive, asking Buerne’s wife to accompany him into a private chamber so that he might ask her counsel, and: “Þe lady wiste nouȝt wherfore he it dede, til þat he hade done wiþ here his wille.”<sup>276</sup>

Another notable difference in Brie is that the wife of Buerne speaks to her husband of her rape when he returns: “‘Sire,’ quod she, ‘quently and falsely þe Kyng Osbryght me haþ done shame and vilonye, aȝenes my wille’; and tolde him treuþe, How the kyng hade her forleyn wiþ strengþ”, and he replies “‘Faire leef, bistille,’ quod he, ‘for aȝenes strengþ

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<sup>273</sup> E ll. 1540-42.

<sup>274</sup> E ll. 1547-49. Emphasis added.

<sup>275</sup> Brie (1906:103 ll.19-20)

<sup>276</sup> Brie (1906:103 ll.26-27)

[febleness] is litel worþ, & þerfore of me shal yow neuer þe lesse bene Louede, and namely for yow haste tolde me treuþe. And if Almyghty God grant me lif, y shal þe wel avenge.”<sup>277</sup>

This passage emphasises the insult done to the wife, both in her ability to speak to ask for vengeance, and in Buerne’s gentle reaction. Initially Buerne vows to avenge the wrong done to his wife. But once he leaves her presence, he appropriates the insult, and in three instances the rape is referred to as an insult committed against Buerne by the king. Buerne raises an army of his friends, complaining of the “despite þat þe kyng to him hade done,” he explains to the king of Denmark “of þe dispite þat kyng Osbright to him hade done of his wif,” and the Danes are overjoyed to have an excuse to invade England, but also “**for to avenge Buerne** of þe despite þat þe kyng hade done to his wif”.<sup>278</sup> If Buerne’s wife’s ability to speak affects the reader’s perception of her character, giving the impression of a woman who is able at least to ask for and receive defense, it is only within the confines of her castle, and not in the larger context of the E narrative. Once Buerne, and thus the narrative, leaves her presence, the story focuses on him.

As a completely impotent character, Bokerd’s wife represents the total disempowerment of the female characters in E. It is interesting to extend the analysis to the remaining noticeable female characters in E: Isabel, the French queen of Edward the II, and Queen Anne, wife of Richard II. Isabel appears only briefly in E; she leaves Britain with her son, the future Edward III, and takes up residence with her brother in France, who observes that Edward II is mistreating them both. Edward II is portrayed as an ineffective ruler - an unpopular king, it is unsurprising to find him in this instance depriving his son of his inheritance, and responsible for an attempt to murder his wife in France: “by subtile ymaginacion of Spencer, he ordained l m+ ti in a barell and sent yt to the grete lordes of ffraunce to put quene Isabell and hire sonne to deth, or elles to exile them oute of that lande”.<sup>279</sup> The ship carrying this money is intercepted by Zeelanders, men from the

<sup>277</sup> Brie (1906:103-104 ll.32-7)

<sup>278</sup> Brie (1906:104 ll. 10-11, 21-22, 27-28) Emphasis added.

<sup>279</sup> E ll. 2591-95.

Netherlands, who bring the money to the earl of Hainault, who in turn reveals the plot to the queen.

While the text appears to have originally continued with Isabel's preparations for war, and proceeds accordingly in Brie's text, the actual pages which would have contained her attack on Edward II have been removed from E. The narrative seems to be supportive of Isabel's attack on her husband, and therefore would have made an interesting comparison with other powerful female characters. It is likely that the motivation for the removal of this material was political, rather than having much to do with the actions of the queen herself. Isabel, although portrayed as a wronged queen, and thus justified in her revenge, still represents a female character must be incited to exact revenge, and directed in the procedure with the support of male characters. In E, when her husband's plot against her is discovered, the earl of Hainault instructs her to use the money sent by the king to pay for her murder and hire soldiers herself, and send them to England: the money is "brought to the erle of Henawde, and when he understode the comittemente, he come to quene Isabell and tolde hire thereof, and gaffe hire the l m+ ti and bade here wage hire sawdeours [...] And anone quene Isabell wagede hire sawdeours".<sup>280</sup> She accompanies the Earl, with her son the future Edward III, the Earl of Kent, and Edward of Woodstock on their invasion of England in her name, but the ensuing events of the narrative have been removed. Isabel is mentioned once more, but the instance is not comparable to events involving other female characters; it is the manipulation by her husband, and his attempt to remove her from her rightful place as his queen which categorises her with the other female characters, and her inability to act independently.

Queen Anne plays an interesting role in the chapter of Richard II. She appears once to marry the king, and once to intercede for Simon of Berkeley, accused of treason by the Parliament of 1387. Queen Anne approaches the Earl of Gloucester, "And quene Anne kneled on here knees to the duke of Gloucestr and praied him that Sir Simon of Berkley

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<sup>280</sup> E II. 2598-2601, II.2605-06.

myght be taken to grace, but he wold notte in no wise.”<sup>281</sup> Within the same chapter, with the arrest of Gloucester, his own wife begs the king for mercy, but she, like the queen, is denied: “And the king seide to here, “Dame, suche grace as youre housband graunted to quene Anne, whenne sche knelyd to him on hire knees for Sir Simon of Berkeley, hire chamberleyn, suche grace schall he haue and none other.”<sup>282</sup> The queen recognises a potential injustice and attempts to redress it, but fails. These last two queens, Isabel and Anne, behave in a manner acceptable for queens at the time of the scribe. Isabel is clearly wronged and is justified in having revenge arranged for her, and Anne is humble and merciful, even though her efforts fail.

Neither of these women is manipulated by the narrative in the same way that female characters in the previous two Times are; the difference is that while still existing a male-controlled society, the actions of Isabel and Anne generate the text, whereas previously female characters are created by the pre-existing text. This does not imply that these latter female characters are intended to be more powerful than their predecessors; it is the transition to the Time of Grace, in which God’s plan for humanity is further realised, which gives *all* the characters in the narrative the power to create history. While the scribe still designs the narrative to present acceptable behaviour for women, this change in approach reflects a certain awareness of the difference between older material and the events occurring in the recent past: an awareness of the development of humanity from the times of Natural Law and Written Law to that of Grace.

#### **III.iv. The Historical Material**

The historical material of E has not been addressed to any extent in this analysis. The attempt to redress the hitherto critical focus on the historical material has led to the concentration on legendary material. The delineation of the two sections may be ascribed to a modern definition of “history” as objective truth, free from interpretation or manipulation,

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<sup>281</sup> E ll. 2987-90.

<sup>282</sup> E ll. 3043-47.

even in the interest of teaching - in fact, particularly in the interest of teaching. This is a much more narrow concept of history than that which existed in the Middle Ages, and excludes the legendary material in the first section of the *Brut*. The historical material of E consists of a genealogy of kings from the Northumbrian Osbryght to a partial chapter of Henry VI. There are two particularly noticeable aspects of this section of the text: the clear favour with which Thomas of Lancaster is mentioned, and the presentation of the Scots.

The E version reveals a Lancastrian bias in its portrayal of Thomas of Lancaster, four times described as the “goode Earle Thomas of Lancastr”.<sup>283</sup> The first two instances in which Lancaster is named involve a political dispute in which the narrator clearly believes him to have been mistreated, and which describe his condemnation to death; the third instance involves miracles occurring at his tomb: “God schewed many grete miracles for the love of goode erle Thomas of Lancastre, for blinde men were heled of there sight that dide pilgremage to him, and many other grete miracles there were schewed”.<sup>284</sup> It is fairly common for *Brut* texts of this period to show favour to Thomas of Lancaster, and therefore while noticeable because the narrative only reveals such favour for this one nobleman, his characterisation has no effect upon the presentation of the rest of the narrative.

### **The Matter of Scotland**

The E also expresses an anti-Scottish bias. Most material regarding Scotland and any characterisation of the Scots is contained in the historical material, in the chapters of Edward I, II, and III. There is also, of course, the “history” regarding the Scots in the legendary material, which “establishes” a lack of evidence for Scottish nationalism, and the subsequent justification of the rule of England over Scotland. The participation of the Scots in E is predominantly in the form of various attacks against the English; the Scots kings and military leaders are presented as defiant, both of the “rightful” authority of the English and therefore of God, and also traitorous and dishonourable. The description of the Scots’

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<sup>283</sup> E II. 2501,2508,2551,2575.

<sup>284</sup> E II. 2550-54.



genealogy is significant: the Scots, in E, consist of men from Gascony settled in northern region of Britain, and women brought by force from Ireland. This newly established society is disorganised from the start: “the women vndirstode not there langage nor thei the Iris langage wherefore men called hem Scottys.”<sup>285</sup> Significantly, their origin as a people occurs *after* Britain is organised into regions controlled centrally by London. As a people the Scots are founded upon confusion and ignorance, and are not a distinct race of people originating in Britain, whose presence in the north, if established, would have created an obstacle to English claims.

The Scots’ raids are first recorded during Arthur’s reign, when he defeats them, but this incident is only mentioned briefly in a list of Arthur’s conquests. The first conflict between the English and the Scots which is described in the narrative occurs in the chapter of Athelstan. Athelstan prays to Saint John, asking him to intercede on his behalf, for “God to schewe for him some miracle that the Scottis schuld obey him.”<sup>286</sup> Athelstan himself later prays to God, that if God intends the Scots to obey him, let this be demonstrated by means of a magical sign: that Athelstan will be able to put a sword in a stone. The king is able to do so, but “nowithstandyng the grete miracle, the Scottys wolde notte obey him but faught with him,” and they are defeated.<sup>287</sup> The Scots are given ample “proof” that God himself intends them to be ruled by Athelstan, but they still refuse to acquiesce, which demonstrates a denial of God’s will, and a certain “godlessness.” Their defeat by Athelstan and his army is further proof of God’s disapproval of their rebellion.

Athelstan’s nephew Edgar is the first king to be described as “king ouer all the kinges of Scotland, Ireland and of all England”.<sup>288</sup> It is after this point that the Scots’ rebellion may be seen as a rebellion against a pre-arranged settlement, and indeed there are several instances in which the Scots attack the English seemingly in spite of their sworn allegiance to England. When William of Normandy invades and settles England,

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<sup>285</sup> E II. 606-08.

<sup>286</sup> E II. 1618-19.

<sup>287</sup> E II. 1627-28.

<sup>288</sup> E II. 1695-96.

“Mancolyn, king of Scotland, begane to strive with him”, but oddly, when William confronts the Scottish king, “Malcolyne was ferd of him and was fayne to become his man and dide him homage.”<sup>289</sup> These repeated instances of Scottish kings swearing allegiance to English kings acts as increasing support for the English invasions of Scotland. The “evidence” in E regarding the rule by England becomes increasingly precise; each act of rebellion in the narrative by the Scots is countered with a repetition of their subordinate status, with each king swearing more specifically that Scotland is subject to England. As the conditions gradually become clearer, and the precedent that Scottish kings *did* accept English rule indisputable, any attempts by the Scots to go against this arrangement may be viewed as treason.

Alexander of Scotland himself does homage to Edward I. Therefore, at his death, since he has no heir, England has a legitimate claim to interfere in the election of a new Scottish king. Further, in the narrative the Scots themselves recognise their allegiance to Edward, and because there is disagreement between the Scottish lords as to who is entitled to rule their country, “the Scottys put yt in juggement of King Edward and anone he made se the coronycles of Scotland, wherby thei fonde that Bailol, a lord of Fraunce, was next heire of blode to Alexander, and also that the lande of Scotlande was holden of the king of england by homage and fealte, wherfore king Edward awarded that Bailol schulde be king.”<sup>290</sup>

It is the “coronycles of Scotland,” which presumably the Scots themselves do not consult, in which Edward I finds the closest heir to Alexander. Interestingly, while the subject of this section of the narrative is the inheritance of the Scottish throne, and it concludes with the accession of Balliol, the narrative is interspersed with statements that emphasise Scotland’s subjugation by England, which is not directly related to the matter at hand. The narrative has already established Scotland’s reliance upon Edward in matters of state, and therefore the statement that Scotland “was holden of the king of England” is not

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<sup>289</sup> E II. 2023-24, 2026-27.

<sup>290</sup> E II. 2311-18.

necessary for proof. However, the fact that it is notably present in the Scottish document constructs a pre-established set of conditions which the Scots will violate by their actions against England. It is also interesting that this assumption conflicts with the fact that it is Edward who consults the Scottish document to start with; the Scots do not consult their own manuscript in the vital matter of the genealogy of their last king, yet they are expected to be aware of material establishing their English overlord.

The Scots now have a king supported by Edward I, but even this seemingly well-defended and settled situation is disrupted, when, the narrative claims, the Scots induce Balliol to attack Edward. Again the Scottish lords are conquered, taken to London, where they swear allegiance to Edward forever.<sup>291</sup> It is at this point in the narrative that the Scottish heroes William Wallace and Robert the Bruce appear, Wallace “a Ribald that was come of nought”, and Bruce described as “claiming” to be the heir of Balliol.<sup>292</sup> Wallace becomes king of Scotland when Balliol leaves the country, realising he has failed as king; the Scots “chase hem a king”, Wallace, who is clearly more interested in defending Scotland.<sup>293</sup> The E narrative describes the battle of Falkirk, where Edward I meets the Scots and kills 32,000 of them, whereas only 44 English are killed. The narrative states that Wallace “fled away” from the battle, and in a subsequent invasion of Scotland, Edward captures him and takes him to London, where he is “hanged and his hede sette vpon London brigge.”<sup>294</sup> Discounted as an upstart without noble family connections, Wallace is correspondingly given little space in the narrative, which gives the impression that he was in fact very little trouble to Edward I. Robert the Bruce, on the other hand, is descended from a noble family, and his actions against the English throne are presented as more consequential in nature.

After Wallace’s death, the Scots yet again swear allegiance to Edward I. And again, the Scots elect a king, Robert Bruce, whose investiture, as a Scottish nobleman, implies a

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<sup>291</sup> E II. 2337-41.

<sup>292</sup> E II. 2359, 80.

<sup>293</sup> E I. 2358.

<sup>294</sup> E II. 2369-70.

certain Scottish nationalism; at his election, all the lords give their vote for Bruce except John Comyn, who “seide he wolde neuer be false to king Edward; wherfor Robert Brus him slew in the chirche of the ffreres of Dunfrese”.<sup>295</sup> The murder of John Comyn establishes him as a hero in the manuscript, and Bruce as not only a murderer, but one with no respect for the church. A medieval reader would see this as an abominable crime - one which characterises Bruce as a monster. Further, Bruce “and the Scottys come into Northumbre and distroied the cuntre, and slew prestis and caste doun chirches, wherfore the pope cursed Robert Bruys and enterdited the land of Scotlande.”<sup>296</sup> And later, while Edward II lays seige to Berwick, “the Scottys come into England, and brent townes, and dide moche harme”.<sup>297</sup> Bruce is portrayed as lacking a sense of honour in his battle tactics, unnecessarily cruel, and without respect for the church, traditionally an institution to be spared. His actions allow him and the Scots to be viewed as the vicious enemy, without mercy, which may then be used as propaganda to justify English “retaliatory” attacks upon Scotland.

The struggle of the Scots against repeated claims by the English kings continues until the end of the manuscript, but is presented in the most detail in the chapters of Edward I, II, and III. Further in E, in the chapter of Henry V, a liaison between the Scots and the French becomes evident. They are mentioned as a combined fighting force twice, both times fighting for French causes, the battles of Troyes and Orleans.<sup>298</sup> The participation of the Scots in French battles against the English is not discussed in the manuscript, but it does serve to perpetuate the long-standing enmity between the English and Scots in Britain.

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<sup>295</sup> E II. 2382-84.

<sup>296</sup> E II. 2459-63.

<sup>297</sup> E II. 2466-67.

<sup>298</sup> E II. 3457-58, 3486-87.

## Conclusion

The intended audience for the E text is likely to have included a range of both educated men and women, as well as, perhaps to a lesser extent, an uneducated audience who, familiar with biblical stories would also appreciate the text when read aloud. For men in power, the text provides examples of the proper way to utilise their inherited power; their primary lesson in this respect seems to be the necessity to respect the correct line of inheritance, and not necessarily primogeniture. Educated women, perhaps in positions of some power as heads of noble households, may have benefited from the text for similar reasons, and for them the narrative would also have provided examples of correct behaviour. It is the presence of a pattern involving female characters within the narrative of E which suggests an anticipated female readership. The E may have been read to the general population in the same manner as hagiographies were read, with the intention of instructing the audience in the basic Christian concepts of good and evil.

As such a text intended for a variety of readers, the E needed to be appropriate for a variety of levels of reader. On a basic level, a medieval reader untrained in the symbolism would still have been able to learn from the structure of chapters presented in opposition, from the punishment or reward of the characters with regard to justice. On a more educated level, readers trained in exegesis would divine a more complex representation of the regular presence of God in the life of humanity. The use of magic is appropriate to both the general public for whom hagiographies are written, as well as useful for the perception of several senses of time. Commonly-used Christian symbols would have been familiar from even a basic familiarity with stories from the Bible, and the symbolism of numbers provides an additional layer of meaning, which applies specifically to those scholars aware of the system. In each case, a reader's lack of awareness does not alter the efficacy of the text. This variation may be seen as the intention to address various audiences, at their respective levels of understanding, an appeal to the varying interest of the wide audience which E

attracted. Because a single text is “edited” by each reader, in order to gain from it, interpreted individually, the three simultaneous levels of symbolism make this text applicable and appealing to the widest possible audience.

In fact this complex structure within E involves differing patterns of symbolism existing simultaneously and within a developing representation of the medieval concept of time. The progression of time, and the paralleled advancement of humanity, provide the impetus for the overall movement of the text. Constructed onto this are several patterns of symbolism which function to establish a connection between God and humanity. These several systems are defined by the degree to which they act within the world of humanity, as opposed to direct relation to Heaven; pre-established references such as numerical organisation and symbols such as water, are defined by God, and exist primarily in the narrative of E to convey the corresponding Christian meaning. The simultaneous, rather than consecutive presence of these structures of symbolism means that, in addition to making reference to pre-established symbols from outside the narrative, symbolism created within the text may be carried from one corresponding period of time to another. Once a reader is aware of a particular association between a symbol and its meaning, this knowledge is thereby absorbed, and provides a background for the interpretation of each chapter’s point, concerning the correct use of power and its effect upon justice. Awareness of a tripartite structure and its correspondence with the three ages of time enables the reader to perceive the events in each “period” appropriately, while emphasising the eternity of all actions. The progression and advancement of humanity in E parallels the education and advancement of the individual reader; the macrocosm of humanity and the microcosm of an individual life are presented on a concurrent, linear course of enlightenment. Simultaneously, the three vertical levels of comprehension or symbolism exist in the text, creating a grid upon which each individual reader may locate himself according to level of achievement.

The form which magic takes is the means through which earlier stages of humanity’s development are expressed. If the narrative as a whole parallels the



development of humanity, then the earlier material represents humanity's infancy and childhood, in which magical events occur and are explained by saints and magicians. Unable at this stage to perceive the subtleties that come with maturity and learning, when mysteries may be analysed and revealed by one's own mature relationship with God, the early stages of humanity are dealt with by God with magical acts, which are not questioned, but believed with faith to be the inexplicable acts of an unapproachable God. Magical events and prophets create a connection to an inaccessible God. As the narrative progresses, paralleling humanity's maturation, intercessors are less necessary, and finally not at all, at which point they cease to appear in E

The decrease in the need for the use of intercessors reflects not only humanity's advancement, but also the success of the primary "lesson" of E. The common thread through the whole of the narrative is instruction regarding the appropriate use of power, and it is through the changing punishment for the abuse of such power that the development of humanity is primarily revealed. The later material represents humanity in a more "enlightened" state, to the extent that characters are expected to be able to anticipate punishment or reward for good or bad acts without the interpretation of holy men. The Biblical, corporal punishment of the first chapters of the legendary material give way to punishments that relate to inheritance or battle, which reflects humanity's developing interests and awareness, in their continuing efforts to be reunited with God.

**Edinburgh University Library Manuscript 184: *The Brut or the Chronicles of  
England***

Edinburgh University Library Manuscript 184 is a late medieval English Prose *Brut*, which provides a history of England from its foundation by the Trojan Brutus to the accession of Henry VI: the manuscript must therefore post-date 1422. It is written in single, late Middle English hand, which may be roughly dated to the last quarter of the fifteenth century from an analysis of the script and use of marks of suspension and abbreviation. Derek Britton states that “the language is late and lacking in local colour, but there is significant evidence strongly to suggest Norfolk provenance.” This view is shared by Lister Matheson: “Given the sheer amount of copying, combining, and recopying of texts, the lateness of the majority of manuscripts, and the association with metropolitan London, it is not surprising that many of the manuscripts are written in language that is dialectically mixed or ‘colorless’.”<sup>1</sup>

Using the characteristics cited by N. Denholm-Young and L.C. Hector as typical of a fifteenth-century hand, the script of EUL M.S. 184 may be classified as “English Vernacular Bastard Script,” itself a product of the fifteenth century. In common with this script, the EUL M.S. 184 hand has ascenders that are hooked, a clear distinction between <y> and thorn, though the <y> is not dotted, the slanted, almost sideways <e>, the use of the abbreviation *qd* for *quod*, a “sloping, spiky *s*”, “a terminal tapering of the perpendiculars which is particularly noticeable in descenders like *p* and *q*,” a looped <d>,

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<sup>1</sup> Matheson (1998:15)

and a long-stemmed descending <r>.<sup>2</sup> The use of marks of suspension and abbreviation includes forms common to texts of earlier date than EUL M.S. 184, such as the forms representing *per*, *pro*, *pre*; but of particular note is the use of the “dotted crescent” as a “universal sign of abbreviation”, which could represent the letters <m>, <n>, <u>, or in fact, any contraction. It is in the fifteenth century that the dot appears within the crescent; previous to this the crescent alone alerted the reader to an abbreviation.<sup>3</sup>

The manuscript is written on paper. The pages measure 21cm across and 28 cm high. The two columns measure, on average, 8.5-9.5cm across and 25cm in height. The text is presented in two columns per page, with an average of 34 lines per column. The manuscript consists of 25 leaves and corresponding 50 pages of writing. Three leaves have been cut from the manuscript, therefore the total original number of leaves is 28. The manuscript is paginated in pencil, in a later hand, in the upper right corner of each recto page.

The manuscript is currently being re-bound. Previously the binding consisted of two cardboard covers sewn to the text with thread, with no fastenings. The previous owner, D. Laing, a 19th-Century antiquarian and collector, donated the text to Edinburgh University library upon his death in 1878. The front cover was marked “London Sale.” His name was written in pencil on the inside cover of EUL MS 184. Laing also recorded his purchase of the manuscript from a London Sale, the document then referred to as no. 83, and his date of purchase, February, 1873. Laing does not make reference to previous owners, or the name of a collection to which the manuscript could have belonged, as was his custom with others of his documents.

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<sup>2</sup> Denholm-Young (1966:55)

<sup>3</sup> Denholm-Young (1966:69)

The three points at which leaves have been removed from the manuscript are evident from the narrative as well as the system of gatherings. There are missing leaves between the current folios 1 and 2, 15 and 16, and 19 and 20, which correspond to Brute's arrival in Britain, the monk's dream and premonition of William Rufus' death, and the beginning of the chapter for Edward III.

### Notes on this edition

This transcription is a semi-diplomatic edition. The appearance of the EUL MS 184 manuscript page has been maintained by the transcription of the number of words per line in accordance with the original manuscript. However, capitalisation, punctuation, and word-division have been modernised, this last involving, for example, combining *a gane* or separating *therle* into *th'erle*. All scribal suspensions and abbreviations have been silently expanded and incorporated into the text, therefore there is no indication of this in the transcription. The scribe has corrected all visible mistakes and scribal corrections have been incorporated into the transcription; cancellations are not represented. Numerals written above the line have been placed on the line of text. The *thorn* is the only Anglo-Saxon letter which appears in the manuscript, and it has been maintained in the transcription. The use of [ ] indicates a letter or letters that I have added. This has been done in instances where the end of a word has been lost due to the deterioration of the edge of the page. Words to rhymes or chants have been enclosed in quotation marks in the transcription, as are instances of direct speech. There is additional writing at the end of the manuscript, in a later hand, which is not included in this transcription since it is clearly not a continuation of the narrative.

**How this lande was fyrst called Albyon**

In the noble lande of Surrey, there was a  
 noble kyng called Dyoclesian, which was  
 5 a grete conquerour and wedded a maiden  
 that was called Labana, whiche was  
 his emes doughter. And thei hadd togeder  
 xxx doughteris and the eldest of hem was called  
 Albyn, and this kyng Dioclesian married hem  
 10 to xxx kyngys. Vpon a day a made a grete feste  
 that lasted xvij dayes and whenne the feste  
 was don iche kyng toke his wyfe home and  
 made here quene of his realme. And after yt  
 befell that Dame Albyn, the eldest doughter, wex  
 15 prowde and grete-willed and wold not be  
 ruled by here housbande, and in lyke wyse dede  
 all her susters, so that this xxx kynges, there housbandes,  
 mette togeder and by one assente wrote lettres of  
 complaynte to Dioclesian, and lette hym haue  
 20 knowlych of the euell disposicion of his doughteris.  
 And whenne he sawe the lettres he was wroth toward  
 his doughteris and send for them all and also for  
 there housbandes to come to him and made them a  
 grete feste. And whenne thei hadde ben with hym  
 25 iij dayes he called all his doughteris to hym and  
 rebuked them foule for there evyll condicions,  
 and seide pleylnly but yf thei wold amende there  
 condicions he wold neuer loue them nor helpe them,  
 and thei seide to hym thei wold amend. And  
 30 after, whenne thei were departed owte of  
 his chamber, this Albyn þat was the eldest doughter  
 called here susters into here chamber and seid  
 "Susters -- oure housbandys have compleyned of  
 vs. And as for me I wyll neuer do the better  
 35 for we that are of so grete byrth, and we schuld  
 be subiectis to oure housbandys that are not  
 so wele borne as we, it were schame. Where-

fore, while we be here with oure fader

and vnder his proteccion, lete ichon of vs  
 40 take a knyfe with vs to bedd and whenne  
 oure housbandes ben on slepe, lete vs kytte  
 there throtys." And all here susters assente there-  
 to and at nyght iche of them slow there  
 housbandes. And on the morrow, whenne Dioclesian  
 45 herd thereof, he wolde haue brent them all;  
 but his barons wold not assent thereto, but  
 conceled hym to exile them and so he dede.  
 And put them in a schipp, and no man with  
 them, and gaffe them vitall for halfe a yere.  
 50 And thei sailed furth and aryued in this  
 land, whiche was thenne an iland that was  
 all wilderness and no man dwellyng therein.  
 And dame Albyn that was eldest went ferst  
 oute of the schipp and named the lande Albyon  
 55 after here name, and so was yt called to afterwar[de]  
 that Brute come and conquered it and called yt  
 Bretayn after hymselfe. And thise wemen lyfde  
 by erbes and frute and thei slew wylde bestis  
 and eten the flesche of them, so that thei were  
 60 wonder fatte and hyght of nature and desire[d]  
 gretly mannys felawschipp. And the deuell  
 saw that and apered to them in lykenes o[f]  
 a man and gate chylderen vpon them w[hich]  
 were grete gygantes. And oon of them wa[s]  
 65 called Gogmagog and anoþer Langerigan, and  
 thei dwelled in caves and had all this land  
 of Albyon in there owne wyll.

### **Howe Brute was geten**

In the noble cete of grete Troye there was  
 70 a good knyght that was called Eneas. And  
 whenne the cete of Troye was destroyed  
 and lefte thoroght men of Greke, this noble  
 knyght Eneas fled fro Troy and come

1 va

to Lumbardy, where Latamy was kyng and lord.  
 75 And this kyng Latamy hadd an enmy, a kyng  
 that werred vpon hym that men called  
 Turoclyn. And whenne kyng Latamy herd



tell that Eneas was come into that cuntre  
 he praied hym to abyde with hym and help hym  
 80 in his werre, and so he dyd. And, schortly to  
 tell, this Eneas slowegh kyng Turocilyn  
 in plane batell and discomfet all his meany,  
 and whenne this was don kyng Latamy  
 seased all Turocilyn landes into his handes  
 85 and gaffe theme in mariage to Eneas with  
 Lamany his doughter. And after Eneas died,  
 and whenne he was dede Asquanius, his son  
 that come with hym fro Troy, receiued the  
 lande and helde yt in pees all his lyfe, and  
 90 wedded a wyffe; and gate vpon here a sone  
 that was called Siluen, the which Siluen,  
 whenne he come to the age of xviij yere, a-  
 quaynted hym with a damsell that was  
 nece to Lamany the quene and gate here  
 95 with childe. And whenne Asquanius, his fader, yt  
 wyst, he made clerkes to cawill what childe  
 sche shuld bryng forth; and thei said a knaue  
 childe that fyrste schulde slee his moder and  
 aftir his fader. And so it was as thei said, for  
 100 his moder died in childing of hym, and he was  
 called Brute. And after Asquanius died, and  
 Silven, that was his sone and fader to  
 Brute, was kyng. And on a day, whenne  
 Brute was xv yere olde, his fader toke hym  
 105 with hym on hunttyng, and Brute shote  
 at an harte and his arow glawnced and  
 slowe his ffader.

1vb

**How Brute was driuen oute of the  
lande whenne he had slane his fader**

110 And whenne this mischefe was falen, the people of the  
 londe wolde not suffre Brute to abide among hem,  
 wherefore he went fro thens into Greke. And there  
 he fonde vij m+ men and women of the lynage of  
 Troye that were come of grete lordis and were  
 115 holden there in grete sorow and thraldome, and  
 all was because of Achilles, that was betraied  
 and slane at Troye. And Brute was a fayre

yong man and bolde. And whanne kyng Pandras  
 herd tell of hym, he made Brute to dwell with  
 120 hym. And within a while he was gretly beloued  
 with the kyng and all his people. And after the  
 people that were come fro Troye aquaynted  
 hem with Brute and told hym of here thraldome,  
 and on a tyme seiden to hym all be on assent:  
 125 “Brute, ye be a lorde of oure lynage and a strong man  
 and a bolde, wyll ye be oure lorde and oure souereyn?  
 And we wyll be your men and we wyll go fyght  
 with the kyng Pandras, and with goddys grace ouercome  
 hym, and we wyll make you kyng and hold of  
 130 of you foreuer.” And anone Brute hadd pite on hem  
 and assented to them, and anone thei went to  
 woddes and hilles and hide them. And after thei  
 sent to kyng Pandras to gyfe them leue to go oute  
 of his lande and anone the kyng made his othe  
 135 that thei schuld all be slayne and assembled  
 a grete power and come to hem. And Brute and  
 his felaschipp slew all the kyngis men and  
 toke kyng Pandras and put hym in prison. And  
 thenne Brute betought hym that, toght he abode  
 140 still there and were made kyng of the lande,  
 that he schulde neuer have reste of them of Greke,  
 and sent word to Pandras that, and he wold

2ra

'the londe and he slew Albonake, and anone as  
 Lotrine wyst yt, he sent for Camber, his brother,  
 145 and thei two with moche people went into  
 Albany to distroye Humbar. And so, sodenly, vpon  
 a ryversyde, where Humbar was gone to sporte  
 hym thei come vpon him, and Humbar saw hem  
 come and for fere lept into the riuer and  
 150 drounnyd hymselfe; and anone all his men  
 were taken and slayne. And euer sith that  
 ryver hath ben called Humbar. And then  
 thei fonde a schip and a faire maiden that was

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'The missing part of the text describes Brute's journey to Britain, the defeat of the native giants, the children of Albyon and her sisters. Brute divides Britain into three parts, England, Scotland and Wales, allotting each to one of his three sons, Lotrine, Albonake, and Camber. After Brute's death, Humbar invades Scotland and defeats Albonake.

Humbar doughter therin, called Estrild. And  
 155 Lotryne to here with him and wold haue wedded  
 here. And sone this tithinges come to Coryn, that  
 was lorde of Cornwaile. And because that  
 Lotryne had made couenaunt with Coryn  
 to spouse his doughter, he wex wonder  
 160 wroth and come to Troye. And there with a  
 suorde wolde haue slayne Lotryne, and but  
 Estrild the maiden went betwene them  
 and acorded hem on this maner, so Pat Lotryne  
 schuld spouse Coryn doughter, that men  
 165 called Guentolen. And so he dide; but, neuer-  
 thelesse, he keped Estrilde to peramour and  
 gate vppon here a doughter, that was called  
 Abron. And after Coryn died. And anone  
 as he was dede, Lotryn forsoke his wyffe  
 170 Guentolon and wedded Estrild and made  
 her quene. And anone this Guentolon in  
 wrath went into Cornwaile and seised

2rb

that lande forbecause sche was as heir vnto  
 here fader. And anone sche raised moche people  
 175 of that cuntre to be avenged on Lotryne, and  
 come and gaffe hym a batell. And there was  
 Lotryne slayne when he had regned v yere.  
 And sche toke Estrild and Abron and caste them  
 in a ryver and drounyd hem, and therefore  
 180 was that river called Abron; Englyschmen  
 call yt Syvern. And then Guentolon was  
 crouned quene agane, and whenne Madahan,  
 here sone that Lotryne had goten vppon here,  
 was xv yere olde, sche lette croune him kyng.  
 185 And thenne went sche into Corwaile and  
 there lyved all here lyfe.

### **Of King Madahan**

This Madahan had ij sonnes -- the one was  
 called Manypris and the other Manlyn -- and  
 190 regned xxx yere in pes and then he died  
 and lieth in New Troie. And anone after his  
 two sonnes were at debate, for Manypris wold

haue had all this land because he was the  
elder. And the other wold not suffre him,  
195 wherefore Manypris made preuely to sle his  
brother Manlyn, and than was he kyng of  
all the londe. And after he forsoke his wyffe  
and vsed the synne of sodome and there-  
fore God toke vengeance of hym. For, on a  
200 day, as he went on huntyng in a forest,  
he left all his men and went vp and doune,

2va

crying in the forest; and thenus came ij wolfes  
and deuoured him, when he hade ben kyng  
xxiiij yere. And anone after Eborake his sone  
205 was made kyng.

### **Of Kyng Eborake**

This Eborake was a myghty man and he  
conquered Fraunce. And whenne he come home  
oute of Fraunce he made a cite in Britanie and  
210 called yt Eborake after his name, that now is  
called Yorke. And he made the castell of Maidens,  
that now is called Edenborght. And this Eborake  
had isshu by dyuers women -- xx sonnes and xxiiij  
doughteris -- and his eldest sonne was called Brute.  
215 And whenne he had regned lx yere he died  
and lyeth at Yorke.

### **Of King Brute sone of Eborake**

And after Brute, that was the eldest sonne, was  
made king, and had isshu a sone that was  
220 called Leil. And reigned worschipfully xxx  
yere and died and lieth at Yorke.

### **Of Kying Leil**

And afterward Leil was made king and he  
made a faire toune and called yt Carleil. And  
225 when he had regned xxij yere he died and lieth  
at Carleil. And in his tyme Kyng Salamon  
regned in Ierusalin and made the Temple

### Of Kyng Lude Ludebras

230 After that Leil was dede, Lude Ludebras, his sonne,  
was kyng and made the cites of Caunterbury  
and Wynchester, and regned xiiij yere  
and died and lieth at Wynchester.

2vb

### Of Kyng Bladude

235 And aftir his discese Bladude, his sone, was made  
king and was a grete nigramanser. And be his  
nygramansy he made the hoothe water atte Bath,  
and regned xxj yere and died and lyeth at  
New Troye

### Of Kyng Leire

240 Whenne Bladud was dede, Leire his sone was  
king. And he made the toune of Leicester and called  
it Leir. And he had iij doughteris: oone hight Gonorill,  
another Began, the iij Cordell. And, one a day,  
whenne his doughteris were of age to be married,  
245 he thought he wolde knowe whiche loued him best,  
and asked of the eldest how moche sche loued  
him, and sche saide more then hire owne life. And  
then he asked the secunde doughter how moche  
sche lovid him and sche said "More then all  
250 erthly creatours." "Ma fa.," quod he, "Ye two loue me  
well." And in like wise he asked Cordell that  
was the yongest doughter, and sche saide as  
moche as ought by reason to loue him. "But," quod  
sche, "My sustres done but glose yow; but sire  
255 loke how moche ye be worth and so moche schall  
ye be loued." And anone he wex wrothe with  
Cordell and saide sche mokked him, wherefore  
sche schuld neuer haue goode of him to here mariage.  
And anone aftir, he had married the eldest doughter  
260 to Manglas King of Scotland and the secunde  
to Hanemos erle of Cornwaile, and made  
couenaunt with hem that thei schuld departe the  
realme aftir his deth and Cordell schuld haue

nothing thereof. And aftir Agamp king of Fraunce  
 265 herde that Cordell was faire and well-  
 condicioned, and sent word to King Leire to send  
 him Cordell and he wold nothing aske with  
 here but here clothing. And King Leire sende  
 here into Ffraunce, and sche was maried to  
 270 king of Ffraunce. And sone after, Leire wex  
 olde, and the king of Scotland and the erle of  
 Cornwaile and ther wyffes wold no lenger  
 suffre him to be king, but departed the land be-  
 twene hem and gaffe him a certeyn meney and lyvelod.  
 275 And anone his doughteris hadd of him dispite  
 and toke fro him his meney and his livelode  
 and wold not suffre him to be with hem. And  
 thenne he remembred the wordes þat Cordell  
 said to him. And then he sent worde of his  
 280 aduersite to Cordell. And anone, sche and the  
 king of Fraunce, her housband, with grete power  
 come into Englonde and destroied thes ij elder  
 doughteris and there housbandes and restored Leire  
 to his kingdome. And aftir that he had regned  
 285 iij yere he died and lieth at New Troye. And  
 aftir that Cordell his doughter held the land  
 v yere and then here housband died.

### **Of Morgon and Conodag**

And thenne Morgon and Conodag that were here  
 290 susteris sonnes werred vpon here. And broght  
 here to deth and departed the lande betwene hem  
 and so helde yt xij yere. And aftir thei fill

at debate, for Morgon wolde haue hadde all the  
 lande. And Canadag come vpon him with grete  
 295 people and droffe Morgon into Walles and there  
 slew him; and then Canadag come agayne  
 and seised all the land. And, aftir he regned  
 xxxij yere, he died and lieth at New Troye.



### **Of King Reynolde**

300 And aftir Conadag regned Reynolde his sone,  
a wise knyght in whos tyme yt reyned blode  
iij dayes togeder, and aftir that there fill grete  
deth emong his people. And whenne he hadd  
regned xxij yere he died and lieth at Yorke.

### **305 Of Gorbodian**

And aftir him regned Gorbodian, his sone, and  
hadd isshu ij sonnes, the oon hight ferres  
and the tother porrers and whenne he had  
regned xv yere he died and lyeth at Yorke.

### **310 Of Ferrers and Porrers**

And aftir his deth his ij sonnes fell at  
debate for the lande. For Ferrers wolde  
haue hadd all and in plane batell he  
slew his brother Porrers. And aftirward  
315 his moder, bycause sche loued Porrers better  
then him, sche kette his throte vpon a nyght  
when he was on slepe. And then was none  
aftir of that linage bat eny man knew.

### **320 Howe iiij kinges helde the lande of Bretane**

And thenne was there grete werre in the  
lande and thos that were myghty had the reule  
and oppressed the pore. And at the laste iiij

3va

knyghtys be their assent helde togeder and  
325 thei ruled all the remanent, and by there myght  
gete all the cuntres aboute theme. One of hem  
hight Skater and regned in Scotland, the secunde  
hight Dawale and regned in Brutane, the iij  
hight Budake and regned in Walles, the iiij  
330 hight Cloten and regned in Cornwaile. And as  
men saide, that Cloten was nexte eire vnto  
the twoo bretherin that were slayne.

### Of King Denebande

335 This Cloten hadd a sonne that was called  
Denebande. And when Cloten was dede,  
this Denebande vndirstode that he was inheriter  
of the ij brederin Ferrers and Porrers. And he  
gate him so beloued that wyth strenght he  
conquered all the landes aforesaid, and slewe  
340 Skater and Budake in plane batell, and  
gouerned the lande full worschipfully. And  
after he made a corone of gold and  
wered yt on his hede and was the firste  
kyng that euer was crowned in Brutane.  
345 And he made the Toure of Malmesbury  
and the Vise. And when he had regned  
xl yere he died and lith at New Troye.

### Off Belen and Branne

Aftir this Denebande his ij sonnes Belen  
350 and Brenne departed the lande, so that Belen,  
that was eldest, hadd the lande of Brutane  
to Humber. And Brenne had the land fro  
Humber vnto Scotland, and forbecause  
that Brenne had the warse party he was  
355 wroth and went into Norway to King

3vb

Elfing and praied him of help to conquore the  
land of Brutane vpon his brother, and he wold  
take his doughter Samy to his wife. And the  
king Elfing assented to him and toke him his  
360 doughter and a grete oste of men with them. And this  
Samy hadd loued long tyme the king Coutlage  
of Denmarke, and prevely sche sent him word  
how sche schulde be caried into Brutane. And  
this king Coutlage mette with Brenne on the see  
365 and toke here fro him and putte him to flyght. And  
Coutlage and Samy with a tempest were dryven  
into Brutane and there were thei taken and  
brought to Belyn, that was kyng, and he put  
hem in prison. And anone after Brenne come with

370 moche people into Bretane and mette with Belyn, his  
 brother, and anone Brenne was dicomfite and flede  
 into Fraunce with xij men with hym, and Belyn come  
 to Yorke. And ther this Coutlege that was king of  
 375 Denmarke become Belyn's man, and to holde the lande  
 of Denmarke of him and of his heris foreuer, and to  
 pay hym a m+ ti of troage. And, whenne he hadd  
 so done and made a composicion; he toke Samy with hym  
 and returned into Denmarke. And that composicion was  
 380 holden euer aftir vnto the tyme that Haueloke that  
 was king of Denmarke weddede Goldesburgh that  
 was heire of the lande of Bretane. And aftirwarde  
 this Belyn made waies in Bretane -- that is to sey,  
 Watlyngstrete, Yknestrete, Ffosse and Ffossedike -- and  
 kepte well the lawes. And aftirward Brenne  
 385 wedded a maiden that was heire to the duke of  
 Burgon and hadd all the land of Burgon by here,  
 and come ageyne with moche people to werre vppon

#### 4ra

his brother Belyn. And Corwenne, that was moder  
 to them bothe, accorded them so that thei come to-  
 390 geder to New Troye, and there lyved togeder a yere with  
 moche joye. Then went thei into Fraunce and discomfit  
 the king of Fraunce in plane batell, and so thei went  
 forth to Rome and conquered many of the cuntres  
 in there wey. And aftir thei come agayne into  
 395 Bretane and Brenne made Bristowe and aftir he  
 went into his owne cuntre. And Belyn made  
 Bellingate and whan he had regned xij yere  
 he died and lieth at New Troye.

#### Off King Conybatrus

400 Aftir this Belyn regned his sonne Conybatrus,  
 a goode man and a worthi man. And for the King  
 Coutlage of Denmarke wolde notte pay him his  
 troage of m+ ti he went into Denmarke with a  
 grete oste and slew the king of Denmarke and toke  
 405 fealtes of the men of the land. And as he come  
 homward agane in the see he mete with xxx schippes  
 of men and women and the king axed what  
 thei were. And an erle that was master of hem,

that was called Irlanyall, ansuerde and seid  
410 thei were exiled oute of Spayne, and besought him  
to gefe them some void grounde to dwell in and  
thei wold holde yt of him foreuer. And the king  
hadd pite on them and gaffe hem an ile wasted  
415 that no man dwelled in and the erle called yt  
after his name Irlande. And whan Conybatrus  
had regned xxv yere he died and lieth  
at New Troye.

4rb

#### **Off King Guentelon**

420 And aftir him regned his sonne Guentelon in  
pese xxvj yere and thenne he died and lyeth  
at New Troye.

#### **Off King Seisill**

425 And aftir regned Seisill his sonne in pese  
xv yere and then he died and lieth at New Troye.

#### **Off King Kyamore**

And aftir him regned Kyamore, his sonne, in  
pese xix yere and died and lieth at Harbaldone.

#### **Off King Morwith**

430 And after him regned Morwith, his sonne, and  
was full wikked, and therefor God toke vengeaunce;  
for on a dai as he walked by the see, whenne  
he had regned xix yere, he mette with a wilde  
beste that no man sawe neuer suche another best.  
435 And the beste deuored him and ete him all hole  
at oon morsell and thenne vanysshed away,  
no man wiste whider.

#### **Off Grandebodian**

440 And aftir him regnd Grandebodian, his sone,  
worschipfully and made Cambrige and Grantham  
and many other townes and churches, and

had iiij sonnes, that is to sai Artigoill, Hisidur,  
Higamus and Petre. And whenne he had regne[d]  
xj yere he died and lieth at New Troye.

445     **Off Artogoile**

And aftir him regned his sonne Artogoile and  
become so cruell that the Bretanes did him  
depose and crowned Hisidur, his brother, king.  
And he become so merciabie that men called him  
450     King of Pite. And whanne he had regned v

4va

yere he did yelde vp the crown to Artogoile  
his brother, and Artogoile amend his condi-  
cions and regned in pese v yere and died  
and lieth at Granthame.

455     **Off Higamus and Petur**

And aftir him Hisidur his brother was made  
king. But thes ij brether had of him dispute  
and be myght thei deposed him and departed  
the lande betwene themme and hilde yt  
460     vij yere. And thenne Higamus died and  
Petur had all the land. And he made  
Pikering, and in the secunde yere after  
his brother deth he died and lyeth  
at Pikering.

465     **Off Hisidur that was iij crowned**

And the Bretones toke Hisidur oute of  
prison and crownned him kyng and he  
regned xiiij yere in pese and died  
and lieth Carliele.

470     **Off xxxiiij Kinges that regned in  
pese ichon after other**

And aftir him regned xxxiiij kingis, ichon  
after other in pese. The firste hight Gorbo-  
dian and regned xij yere; Morgan ij yere;

475 Eighuans vj yere; Idwallen viij yere; Row-  
ghgo xj yere; Boghan xiiij yere; Karell  
xv yere; Porres ij yere; Cheryn xvij yere;  
Sulgens xiiij yere; Esdas xx yere; Andra-  
gie xvij yere; Vryn v yere; Elynd ij  
480 yere; Eldagan xv yere; Claten xij yere;  
Durgund viij yere; Marvan vj yere; Bledaph  
vj yere; Caph j yere; Gon ij yere; Seisill

4vb

vij yere; Bledd xxj yere; Grabeth xj yere;  
Archimall xiiij. yere; Enol xxx yere; Blodingu  
485 xxxij yere; Hertur v yere; Hampur vj yere;  
Carpoier vij yere; Digneil iij yere; Samol xxiiij  
yere; Rede ij yere; Ely vij monthes. Thes Ely  
hadd iij sonnes, that is to say Lud, Cassabilan and  
Ememyon.

#### 490 **Off King Lud**

And after him regned Lude, his sonne, and duelled  
moche at New Troye. And he made the walles  
of the cite and made a gate and called yt  
Ludgate. And then the Bretanes called the cite  
495 Karlude, and aftir yt was called Ludston, and  
so by chaungyng of lettres it ys called London and  
dide call the folke of the cite Lundres. And he  
hadd ij yong childerin, Androgen and Gormace.  
And, or thei were ij yere olde, Lud died when  
500 he had regned xj yere and lyeth at London, fast  
by Ludgate.

#### **Off Cassabilan**

And aftir him the Bretanes, bycause that the  
ij childeryn that were Lud sonnes were so yong,  
505 thei made Cassabilan, that was brother to Lud,  
king. And he made moche of the ij childerin, and  
made the toon of hem erle of Cornwaile and  
the thother erle of London. And anone aftir come  
Julius Cesar, emperour of Rome, with grete multitud  
510 of Romans into this lande to haue conquered  
yt, and Cassabilan with help of the king



of Scotland and the kinges of Northwalles  
and South Wailles him discomfite and  
droffe him oute of the land. And in the batell

#### 5ra

515 was Memyon that was brother to Cassabilan  
slayne. And sone after ther fill debate betwene  
the king and his neveue the erle of London be-  
cause of a man of the kingis that was slayne with  
the erles meyny. And the erle sent prevely his  
520 lettres to Julius Cesar to come and help him to  
distroie Cassabilan, whereof Julius Cesar was  
fayne and come with a grete oste of Romaines. And  
the erle mete with him with vij m+ men and  
discomfit Cassabilan, so that he was fayne to yeld  
525 to the emperour iij m+ ti by yere of troage foreuer  
more. And this Julius Cesar abode at London a  
yere and made the Toure of London. And thenne  
went he home and the erle of London went with  
him, for he durst not abyde there. And whenne  
530 Cassabilan had regned xvij yere he died and  
lyeth at Yorke.

#### Off King Androgen

And bycause that Cassabilan had non isshu the  
lordis of Bretane made Androgen, that was  
535 erle of Cornwaile, king and when he hadd  
regned .vj. yere he died and lyeth at Yorke.

#### Off Kymbalyne

And after him regned Kymbalyne, his sonne,  
that was a goode knyght, and in his tyme  
540 was oure lorde Ihesu Cryst borne of the vyrgyn  
Mary. And this Kymbalyne had ij sonnes,  
Gynder and Armager, and when he hadd  
regned xxij yere he died and lyeth at London.

#### Off King Gynder and Armager his brother

And after him regned Gynder and he was

proude and he wold not pay the troage to the  
emperour of Rome that Cassabylane had graunt

5rb

Julius Cesar, wherefor Glaudius, that was  
550 emperour of Rome, was full wroth and came  
with a grete oste of Romyans into this land, and  
Gynder and Armager, his brother, mette with  
him and slew many of the Romans. And anone  
oon that was stuarde to the emperour vnarmed  
555 him and araied him with armour of a Bretane that  
was slane, and he come to Gynder and bad  
him to be of goode chere for he schulde haue the  
victory of the Romans; and when he come  
nygh to the king he smote him in the foundment  
560 behinde him that he fill down dede. And  
as sone as Armager, his brother, saw that  
he was dede, he did on his armour and went  
furth into the middys of his oste; and thei  
wende he had ben Gynder, the king, and  
565 faught furth with the Romans and discomfyte  
hem and the emperour fled to Wynchester. And  
the tratore Hamon fled away and Armager  
anon folowed him to a water and smote  
of his hede and threw him into the water,  
570 wherfor the water is and was called Hamon  
And after there was made a faire towne that  
is called Southampton, and after Armager  
come to Wynchester and toke Glaudius the emperour  
and accorded in this maner that the troage of  
575 iij m+ pownde schulde be relesed and he schuld  
no troage haue saue only fealte, and Armager  
schuld wedd Gonen, his doughter, and so he did  
and the emperour went home agane. And then  
was Armager corowned king of Bretane; but  
580 or Glaudius went he made a faire town and  
called yt Gloucester. And in the tyme of

5va

Armager seint Peter preched in Antioche and  
there he made a noble chirche where he satte  
firste in chere and there duelled vij yere; and

585    thenne he went to Rome and was pope till  
Nero, the emperour, did martir him; and thenne  
preched the aposteles by diuers landis; and  
when Armager had regned xxiiij yere  
he died and lieth at London.

590    **Off King Westmer**

After Armager regned, his sone Westmer,  
a good knyght, and in his tyme Redrike, that  
was kyng of Gascoyne, come into this land  
with moche people and Westmer mette with him  
595    and slew him with his owne handes and toke  
his meyny prisoners; and thei besought  
him sume grounde to dwell vpon and thei  
wolde yt of him foreuer, and he gafe hem a  
grounde in the north cuntre, and he that was  
600    capteine of hem hight Beringer. And ther  
thei made a faire town and called yt  
Berwike; but thei hadd no woman among  
hem, for the Bretanes wold not mary with  
them, bycause thei were strangers; wher-  
605    for thei went into Irland and feched  
them women and the women vndirstode  
not there langage nor thei the Iris langage,  
wherefore men called hem Scottys. And  
aftirward Westmer, in remembraunce  
610    of his victory, lete rere a grete stone  
of hight and he did graue lettres there in  
this wise: The king Westmer of Brutane  
in this place slowe Redrike, his enymy, and  
at that stone begynnyth Westmerland, ffor  
615    Westmer was the firste that beganne  
to belde in that cuntre. And whenne he  
had regned xxv yere he died and lyeth  
on Carleil.

5vb

**Off King Coile**

620    And after him regned his sonne Coile in goode reste  
and pees xj yere and thenne he died and lyeth  
at Yorke.

### **Off King Lucy, the fyrste Crysten king of Bretane**

625 After him regned his sonne Lucy. He sent to Rome  
to Ewlynch, the pope, for to crysten him, and anone  
he sent to Lucy ij legates, Pagan and Cliban, and  
dide baptise King Lucy and all his houshold, and  
thei went fro town to town and baptised all the folk  
630 of the lande; and that was Cl yere after incar-  
nacon of Criste. And Lucy made ij archebischoopes,  
oon at Caunterbury, another at Yorke, and other  
diuerse bischeppes that yet be in this lande. And  
this legates ordeyned prestes for to baptise childerin  
635 and for to make eukaryste, and after thei retourned  
to Rome. And whenne Lucy had regned xiiij yere  
he died and lyeth at Gloucester.

### **Off King Astlipades**

This Lucy had non heir of his body, that this land  
640 was l yere withoute a king, and yche man werred  
with other. And thenne come into this lande a grete lord  
from Rome that hyght Severy; but he come not for  
to werr, but for to take fealte for the emperour. And  
the Bretonnes slew him. And whenne thei of Rome  
645 yt wiste, thei sent another lorde into this lande  
that hight Allec, and he come with grete power.  
And for dred of him the Bretaynes chase hem  
a kyng that was called Astlipades. And at  
London thei mette with Allec and slew him and  
650 his felaschip. And thenne regned Astlipades  
till oon of his erles made a toun that hight  
Coile and called yt Colcester, wherefore the kyng  
was wroth and come vpon him to haue distroied  
him, and he gate him grete felaschipp and slew  
655 the kyng in plane batell.

6ra

### **Off Kyng Coile**

And thenne was Coil crowned king, and sone  
after, whenne thei of Rome herde tell that

Allec was slane, thei sent a grete prince of that  
660 lande, called Constance, and come into this land  
with grete power for to chalange the troage that  
was wont to be yeven to Rome. And this Coil  
entreted him faire and said he schuld haue all  
that reason wold, and so thei were accorded; and  
665 Constance wedded faire Elyn, that was Coilis  
doughter, and whenne he had regned xiiij yere he  
died and lyeth at Colcestre.

**Off King Constance  
that was a Romane**

670 And bycause that Constance hadd wedded Elyn,  
that was doughter to King Coil, he was crouned  
king, and he hadd a sone called Constantine, and he  
regned in pese xv yere and thenne died and  
lyeth at Yorke.

675 **Off King Constantine,  
sonne of Seynt Elyne**

And after his deth regned his sonne Constantine,  
in whos time there was an emperour of Rome that  
hight Maxence, that destroyed all thos that were  
680 Crysten and did marter seint Katerine and many  
other Crysten men and women, so that many  
of the Romainys fled and come into this lande  
and tolde King Constantine. And anon he with grete  
power went to Rome and toke the cite and slew  
685 all that were not Cristen; and that tyme this tirant  
Maxence was in the lande of Greke, and as sone  
as he herde of thes tithinges, he wex madde and died  
for angre; and whenne Constantine departed fro this  
lande, he toke with him his moder, Elyne, that after  
690 fonde the holy Crosse, and lefte this lande in  
the kepyng of the erle of Cornwaile that was

6rb

called Octovian; and this Octovian, as sone as he  
herde that Constantine was emperour of Rome, he  
seased all the land into his handes and held him

695 self for king; and whenne the emperour wiste there-  
 of, he sent Tabern, his cosyn, with x m+ men for  
 to destroye Octovian; and Octovian mette with  
 him at Portismoth and discomfite Tabern, so  
 that he fled into Scotland and gate him more  
 700 people, and mette with Octovian on Stanesmore;  
 and there was Octovian discomfit and fled  
 into Norway, and Tabern seased all the land  
 into his hande. And thenne Octovian come ageyn  
 with grete power and slew Tabern, and was  
 705 made king and had ysshu a doughter. And  
 whenne he had regned liiij yere he died and  
 lieth at London.

**Off King Maximiane and of  
 the xjti virgines**

710 This Octovian had non isshu but a doughter,  
 wherefore yt was his will that Conan Maradoke,  
 that was his nevew, schuld haue wedded here  
 and haue ben king; but the Bretanes wold not  
 assent thereto, wherefore thei sent to Constantine  
 715 th' emperour to wytte what his will was; and he  
 sent a knyght that was his vncle sone and hight  
 Maximiane, and praied the Bretanes that he  
 myght wedde Octovian doughter and be king  
 of Bretane; and so he did, and was crouned  
 720 king. And after with grete power he conquered  
 the land of Marytan and slewe the king, that  
 hight Ymbales, and whenne he had so done he said  
 to Conan Maradoke on this wise: "Conan, yt was  
 the will of Octovian that ye schuld haue

6va

725 ben king of Brutane whiche y letted by my  
 comyng to Brutane. Wherefore y gyffe you all  
 this land of Maritan and y will that ye be  
 king thereof and that yt be called Lytell Brutan."  
 And Conan thanked him and was crouned  
 730 king; and Maximian went thens to Rome  
 and there was emperour after Constantine and  
 this Conan, king of Litell Bretane, bycause  
 that he and his meyny that were Bretanes



wolde haue no wifes of the Frensche nacon,  
 735 he sent into grete Brutane to th'erle of  
 Cornwaile, that hight Dionotho, that he schuld  
 sende him xj m+ maidens, that ys to sey iij  
 m+ of grete birthe and viij m+ of other.  
 And th' erle sent all the landes for maidens,  
 740 vnto he had geten a xj m+, and did hem all  
 come before him at London, and did apparell  
 shippes for hem. And there he toke his owne  
 doughter, that hight Vrsula, that was the  
 fairest creature in the worlde, and thought  
 745 that Conan schulde he wedde, but sche hadd  
 before that tyme prevely avowed to lyfe  
 chaste; and put hem all into shippes beside  
 the stronde, and made Vrsula mastres of  
 hem all. And thei sailed furth toward  
 750 Bretane, and there fell suche tempest on the  
 see that thei were all dryven into the  
 hauen of Colyn. And when the king of  
 the lande that hight Gowane, and was  
 a Sarsyn, wiste of hem, anone he come  
 755 to hem, and whenne he sawe hem so  
 so faire, anone he saide that he and

6vb

his meyne schuld lye be hem euerychon. And anon  
 Vrsula werned here felawes that thei schuld kepe  
 there virginite and rather than thei schuld lese their  
 760 virginite for to dye; and all the maydens assented  
 thereto and seide thei wolde rather suffre deth for  
 the loue of God, and thei withstode the king and his meyny  
 and faught with hem. Wherefor the king was wrothe  
 and made to slee hem all, and thei lye at Coleyn.  
 765 And Gowan anon after come into this lande with  
 moche people and discomfit and distroied many of the  
 Cristen people, and he martired Seint Albone that was  
 the first martir that euer was in this lande, and this  
 in the yere of oure lorde CC iiij xx vj. And whenne this  
 770 tithinges come to Rome to Maximian, that thenne was  
 emperour of Rome after the deth of Constantine,  
 he sent hidre a knyght that hight Gracian, with xxiiij. m+  
 men with him, and thei slew the Sarsens and droffe  
 Gowan oute of the lande. And sone after yt befill

775 that Maximian was slane be treson at Rome, and  
as sone as Gracian wiste therof, he crouned him-  
self king. And anone he become so cruell that  
the Bretanes rose ayen him and slew him. And  
whenne Gowan wiste therof, he come agane with  
780 moche people and distroied all that wold not forsake  
ther Cristendome. And so yt happed that Gosselyne, that  
was Bischopp of London, escaped and went into  
Lytell Bretane to the king that hight Alderoy, that  
was the iij king of the lande after Conan Maradoke,  
785 and compleyned to him how the Sarsens destroyed Grete  
Bretane; and anone he sent Constantine his brother with  
xij m+ men, and thei mette with the Sarsenis. And  
Constantine slew Gowan in plane batell with his  
owne handes and slew all the Sarsenis.

7ra

790 **Off Constantine that come  
ffro Lytell Bretane**

And anone aftir, Constantine was crouned king, and he  
had isshue iij sonnes - the first hight Constance, the  
secunde Aurelambros, the thirde Vter. And whenne  
795 Constance was xvj yere of age he was made monk  
at Wynchestr; and after the king Constantine was  
slane in his chambre by treson. And the ij sonnes,  
Aurilambros and Vter, were so yong that men  
thoght none of hem myght be king. Wherfor Fortiger,  
800 that was erle of Westsex, thoght prevely to be  
king and went to Wynchestr to Constance, the monke,  
and him counseled to lefe his abyte and to be king,  
and he wold help him thereto.

805 **Off Constance, the sone  
off Constantine**

And Constance went him and was crowned king  
and he made Fortiger al his ruler and ruler of  
all his lande; and this Fortiger thought to be  
king, and he gate an c knyghtes of the lande  
810 to be aboute the king. And Fortiger gaffe hem  
so grete giffes that thei seide he wold better  
seme to be king than Constance. And Fortiger

wolde ofte sey to hem that, and he were king, he wold  
 gretly avaunce heme. And on a day whenne the  
 815 king was oute in hunttynge, the knyghtes slow  
 him and brought his hede to Fortiger and Fortiger  
 lete as he had ben wroth, but he was ffull  
 fayne in his herte. And he did put the knyghtes  
 in preson and smote of all here hedes and the  
 820 Bretanes went he had ben trewe, because that  
 he did avenge so his lordys deth, and anone  
 thei made him king.

7rb

### Off Fortiger

Whenne Fortiger was crouned, they that had  
 825 the keping of the ij childeryn, Aurilambros and Vter,  
 thei durst not kepe them in this lande for ferde  
 lest Fortiger wold hem haue slane; but thei ladde  
 theme into Lytell Brutane and lefte them there  
 with the king, and he made moche of hem and  
 830 kept hem tell thei were strong knyghtes. And after,  
 tithinges come to the king that many straungers  
 were aryved in Kent, and anone Fortiger went  
 to them to wytte what thei wold, and the masters  
 of hem were bretherin - the toone of hem was called  
 835 Engest and the tother Horne. And Engist come to  
 Fortiger and seide: "Sir, we be of the cuntre of Saxon,  
 that is called Germane, where there is so moche  
 people that the lande will no suffice theme, where-  
 for we be yong lordis of the cuntre and come to seke  
 840 vs a dwellyng place. And yf yt lyke you that we  
 may dwell here, we woll do you seruyce." And  
 Fortiger bethought him that Aurilambros and Vter  
 were his enmyes, and also that the ffrendys of  
 the C knyghtys that he made to be slane wolde  
 845 be avenged of there deth, and was glad of hem  
 and seid, and thei wolde help to defende him  
 agane his enmyes, thei schulde be welcome. And  
 thei graunted thereto, and thenne Engest praied  
 him to giffe him as moche grounde as thei myght  
 850 beld on a toune for hem and there meyne to  
 duell inne. And he said he myght not  
 soo do withoute his barones. Thenne praied Engest

to giffe him as moche grounde as he couth sprede  
with a bull skynne and the king graunt him;  
855 and he toke a bull skinne and kit yt all on

7va

thonges rounde aboute the skynne while yt  
wolde laste, and with that thonge besprade as moche  
grounde as he made him a faire castell there  
on, and yt is called yet Thongcastre. And sone  
860 after, Engist sent to Saxon for Rowen,  
his doughter, and whenne sche was comen he  
praied the king to come dyne with him and se his  
new castell that he hadd made; and the king  
him graunted and come thider. And whenne he  
865 had dyned and sowped and was gone to  
his chambre toward his bedde, Rowen come  
forth before the king with a coppe of golde in  
here hande and kneled byfore the king  
and seide "Wassaile," and the king wiste not  
870 what sche said, for he nor none of his peop-  
le couth speke none Englysche, but spake the  
same langage that thei do yit in Litell Brutan.  
And thenne a knyth of his tolde him that  
the ansuere therto was "Drink heil." And  
875 the king drank vnto hire and hir kessed;  
and he was so anamord on hir that he  
desired of hir fader, Engest, that he myght  
hir wedde and he him graunted on that  
condicon that he wold giffe him the cuntre  
880 of Kent for him and his meyne to dwell in.  
And the king graunted and wedded Rowen, whi-  
ch was to his grete hurte, ffor Bretones  
loued him neuer after it, and this Horne,  
that was Engistis brother, made Horncastell;  
885 and Engiste went into Kent with his  
meyne and there was strong and myghti.

**Off King Vortimer**

And anone after the Bretanes did depose  
Fortiger and made Vortimer, his sonne

- 890 that he had gotten of his first wife, king; and  
 Vortimer and the Bretanes assembled moche people  
 to drife Engest oute of the lande and gaffe him  
 iij batell; and there was Horn slane and Engest,  
 and his meyne driven oute of the lande. Wher-  
 895 for Rowen was full sory and labored prevely  
 to suche as were aboute the king, so that he was  
 poisonsd the iiij yere of his regne and he  
 lyeth at London.

### Off Engest

- 900 And after, the Bretones chase Fortiger king on this  
 condicon - that he schuld neuer suffre Engest come  
 agane. And anone Rowen sent worde to Engest  
 how Vortimer was ded and that Fortiger,  
 hire housband, was king, and bade him come with  
 905 strong power him to avenge on the Bretones.  
 And he was fayne of thos tithinges and come agane  
 with xv m+ Saxons; and whanne he come into the  
 lande he was ferde to fight with the Bretones.  
 Wherefore he sent to the king and seid he wolde trete  
 910 with him to haue the cuntre of Kent, as he hadde be-  
 fore, yf he myght haue yt with the loue of him and  
 of the Bretanes. And the king, be the advyse of his  
 Bretanes, apointed him to mete with him besyde  
 Salysbury vpon an hille in peseable wise, and  
 915 that Engist schuld bryng with him cccc knyghtes,  
 and the king as many and no mo, and that none  
 of hem schuld any maner of wepyn. And so  
 thei did, but this Engest made prevely ichon of  
 his men to put a knyfe in his hose; and whenne  
 920 he schulde sey to hem "Nyme your Saxons," thenne  
 yche of hem schulde slee a Bretane; and ryght  
 so thei dide, and slow cccc and lx Bretanes,  
 and the remenaunt escaped a full hard way.

- 925 And there Fortiger was taken and lad to Thong-  
 Castell and put in preson and the most pert of all the  
 Bretones of the lande fledde into Walles, and

Engest seased all the lande in to his hande and  
dystroied thoos that were Cristen, and chaunged  
the name of the lande, and called yt Engest lande.  
930 And bycause he wolde be strong to holde oute the  
Bretanes, he made vij kinges in this lande. The  
first was in Kent, where he regned himselfe, and  
was chefe king; another was king of Sussex;  
the iij of Essex; the iiij of Estalgil that now  
935 is called Norff and Southfolke; the v of Nicolle,  
that now is called Lincoln; the sext of Leicestre;  
the vij of Oxenford; and devided the land emong  
hem. And thenne he suffred Fortiger to go where  
he wolde. and Fortiger went into Walles to his  
940 Bretanes, and there he beganne to make a strong  
castell to kepe him surely. And as the castell  
was in makyng, all that thei couth make be  
day yt fill doune be nyght, and so endured long.  
Wherof Fortiger merveld and sent for the  
945 wysest clerkys of that lande to wytte whatte  
that betokened. And thei tolde him that he  
schulde feche a childe that was born of a woman  
that had neuer adoo with any man, and sle the  
childe, and with the blode therof temper the mortar,  
950 and thenne schulde his worke neuer faile. And anone  
Fortiger sent lettres messengers thorow Walles  
to seche suche a childe, and as the messangers  
come thorow a toune called Carnarden thei  
herde ij childerin, aither of hem of the age of

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955 xiiij yere, chide togeder; and the toone of hem  
hight Merlyne and the tother Denebate. And  
Merlyne called Denobate folle, and he ansuerd  
and seid: "Yf you haue any werthe yt is not of  
godde but of the deuell, for no man wotte  
960 who ys thi fader, but thi moder ys well knowen."  
And thenne thes messangers asched men that  
stode besyde whoo was Merlyne fader, and  
thei seide that a grete gentilwoman of the cuntre  
was his moder, but no man couth tell whoo  
965 was his fader. And thenne the messengers  
went to the wardens of the toune and told hem  
how Fortiger had sent for Merlyne, and thei



lette call Merlyne and his moder, and anone  
 sent both to Fortiger. And Fortiger asched of  
 970 Merlyne moder who was Merlyne fader;  
 and sche ansuerd, wepyng, and seid that sche  
 hadde neuer to do with man, but on a tyme as  
 sche was in hire chambre alone and the dures  
 fast loked, to hire come a faire yong man and  
 975 lay be hire. But whiche wey he entred in the  
 chambre sche wist notte, and whenne he had  
 lyen be hire he vanysched away, sche wist not  
 whiche wey, and so he come to hire diuers tymes;  
 “and so was Merlyne begoten of my body.” Thenne  
 980 saide Merlyne to Fortiger, “What ys the cause  
 that ye wolde witte who is my fader?” and Fortiger  
 saide how clerkes had tolde him how that the  
 ffoundement of his werke wolde neuer stonde but  
 yf the mortar wer temperide with the blode of a  
 985 childe that hadde no man to his fader. Thenne  
 saide Merlyn: “Thei that tolde you so were but fole[s].

8va

But syre, y schall tell you what ys the cause  
 that your worke fallyth doune. There beth ij  
 dragones vnder the bothome of your werk - the  
 990 toone is white and the tother rede - and thei fight  
 togeder on nyghtes, that thei schake doune  
 the werke that was made on daies. And yf  
 ye will gerre digge hem ye schall fynde hem.”  
 And anone Fortiger gerte digge for hem, and  
 995 there the founde the dragones sore fyghting;  
 and o while the white dragone wolde haue  
 the better and bete the rede into a corner,  
 another while the rede dragon wolde  
 bete him. And Fortiger and his meyne had  
 1000 grete mervyle therof and prayed Merlyne to  
 tell hem what it signified. “Fforsoth,” quod Merlyne,  
 “The rede dragon signifieth youreselfe and the  
 white dragone signifieth the folk of Saxon,  
 for thei were dreven oute of youre lande, and  
 1005 after thei come and droffe you and youre people  
 away. And now ye stonde in troble and fere, but  
 ye schall haue more trobill: for the two brederyn  
 of Constance that ye garte slee, that ys to say,

Aurilambros and Vter, schall come oute of Lytell  
 1010 Bretane and distroye you and many of youre  
 Saxones. And Aurilambros schall be king,  
 but he schall be poisouned within schorte tyme  
 after. And therefor fle ye fro this place and saue  
 yourselfe as well as ye may." And thenne departed  
 1015 Merlyne and his moder, and sone after tithinges  
 come to the Bretanes that Aurilambros and Vter  
 were aryved at Totnes with grete power, and  
 the Bretanes were thereof fayne and with moche  
 joye thei brought hem to London and crouned  
 1020 Aurilambros king. And Aurilambros went in

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to Walles for to be avenged, and Fortiger fled  
 to the castell of Tenerth. And Aurilambros caste  
 wildefire into the castell and brent Fortiger and  
 his meyne. And whenne Engest herd hereof, he  
 1025 fled into Scotland; but Aurilambros with him mette  
 in the north cuntre, and slew him and many of  
 the Saxones, and toke Octa, that was Engest  
 brother sone, presoner, and toke him to mercy and gaffe  
 him the cuntre of Galway. And thenne Aurilam-  
 1030 bros chaunged the name of this lande and  
 called yt Brutane agane, and distroied the pay-  
 nymes and made the walles of London agane  
 that the paynymes had cast down. Thenne thought  
 the king that he wolde make some token beside  
 1035 Salisbury, there as the treti was betwene the  
 Saxones and the Brutanes, in remembraunce of the  
 knyghtis that there was slane with treson. And  
 ther were grete stones in Ireland, vpon the  
 mounte of Kyan, that there were sette with geauntes.  
 1040 And Merlyne promysed the king Aurilambros yf he  
 wolde sende men theder for hem, he wold go  
 thider with hem, and he and his felaschip schulde  
 gete theme hider. Then the king sente Vter, his  
 brother, and xv m+ with him into Ireland and  
 1045 Merlyn went with hem. And Guillemore, that  
 thenne was king of Ireland, faught with hem,  
 but Guillemore was discomfite, and be crafte  
 of Merlyne the stones were gotten into

shippes and brought to the playne of Salysbury.  
1050 And there are thei sette lyke as thei stode in  
Irelande, and was be crafte of Merlyne, for  
yt couthe neuer haue ben do be strenght of men.  
And thei are called yit the Stonehing. And  
after that Passent, that was sone to Fortiger,

9ra

1055 that byfore was fled in to Germayne, come with  
moche people into Bretane to be avenged of  
his fader deth; but he was sone discomfite, and  
fled into Ireland and praied King Guillemore  
of his help. And Guillemore assented therto,  
1060 for he was wroth that his stones were caried  
away with strenght, and come forth with  
Passent and come into Walles. And thenne herd  
thei tell that Aurilambros was seke at Wynchester,  
and Passent sent a Sarsyne that hight Coppa to  
1065 Wynchester, that was arreid like a ffrere and called  
him a fesician. And there he gaffe Aurilambros a  
medecyne where thougth he was poissound, and  
anone Coppa stalle away and come to Passent  
and tolde him how he had done. And while Aurila-  
1070 mbros ley seke, Vter, his broder, went with  
grete power into Walles. And as he went yt  
hapened that, on the same day that Aurilambros died, this  
Vter saw a sterre that was grete, and in the thone ende  
thereof a dragon hede and ij bemes lyke fire comyng  
1075 oute of his mouth, the thone toward Fraunce and  
the thother toward Ireland. And oute of the beme  
toward Ireland come vij flammes of fire, and this  
sterre was seyne of many men. And Vter sent  
for Merlyne and asshed him what yt signified and  
1080 Merlyne loked in the sterre and seid: "Alas, Auri-  
lambros ys dede with false poison by treson. And by  
the hedde of the dragon yt signified youreselfe, that  
ye schuld be kyng, and by the beme that ryches  
toward Fraunce is vnderstond that ye schall gete  
1085 a sone that schall conquere all Ffraunce and  
schall be the worthiest king that euer was of  
his kyn. And by the the thother beme is signified that ye

schall gete a doughter that schall be quene of  
 Ireland. And by the vij flammes is signified  
 1090 that ye schall haue vij sonnes and ichon of hem  
 schall be a king. Wherefore, holde forth your wey  
 to your enmyes, for ye schall ouercome hem." Vter  
 him thanked and went forth and discomfite  
 his enmyes, and slewe Passent and Guillemore;  
 1095 and or he come into Bretane his brother  
 Aurilambros was beried at the Stonehing  
 with grete solempnite.

### Off Uter Pendragon

And anone after Vter was crouned king; and  
 1100 bycause of the dragon that was seyne in the sterre,  
 he had a dragon hede borne after him and there-  
 fore he was called Vter Pendragon. And thenne  
 Octa, that was Engist sone, and Ossa his brother  
 come into the north cuntre with grete power  
 1105 and leide sege to Yorke. And Vter come thider to  
 hem and toke hem prisoners and slew the moste  
 party of theire meyne, and come agane to London  
 and made a grete feste. And thider come Corloys,  
 erle of Cornwaile, and Igern his wyffe, and the  
 1110 king was anamourde of Igern. And that aspied  
 Corloys and deperted fro thens in wrath and toke  
 his wiffe with him. And the king was wroth there-  
 with, and folowed him and droffe him and his  
 wiffe into the castell of Tintagell, and  
 1115 there him beseged. And at nyght, Merlyne, by  
 his crafte, made the king to entre into the castell  
 in lykenesse of the erle Corloys, and lay all  
 nyght be Igern while here housbond faught  
 on the walles; and that same nyght he gate  
 1120 vpon here Artour that after was king.

And one the morow th'erle was slane with a-  
 saute. And the king anone wedded Igern and  
 made hire quene, and after sche was deliuerd  
 of Artour, and also sche hadde a doughter called

1125 Anna. And sone after Vter was seke and  
 thei that were keepers of Octa and Ossa lete  
 hem escape for giftes; and thei went into the  
 cuntre and come agane with moche people. And  
 Vter mette with hem and slew hem both, and  
 1130 their meyne fled into Scotland and made  
 Colgryne their capteyne. And after, by crafte  
 of that Colgryne, Vter was poisound, for he sent  
 a man of his to poisoun him; and he aspied  
 that Vter dranke no drinke but water of  
 1135 a welle, and he poisond all the water. And  
 as sone as Vter dranke thereof he died, and  
 so did all that dranke therof. And thenne was  
 Vter borne to the Stonehing and there was  
 he beried the xvij yere of his regne.

1140 **Off King Arthoure**

And after the deth of Vter thei made Arthour,  
 his sonne, king. Whenne he was xv yere  
 olde he was hardi and bolde, and suare that ther  
 schuld neuer none of the Saxones haue rest  
 1145 in this lande while he schulde be kinge. And  
 Colgryne herd therof and sent to Cheldrike,  
 king of Almayne, to come helpe the Saxons,  
 and he come to Colgryne with grete power. And  
 King Arthour sent in to Lytell Brutane to Hoel,  
 1150 the king, to come help him for to distroie the  
 Saxones. And anone he come to him with grete  
 power, and the king him receved ryally;  
 and furth thei went with here hostes to Lincoln, and ther  
 thei mette with Cheldryke and Colgryne

9vb

1155 and theme discomfite and slow many of Saxones.  
 And Cheldrike was yolden to Arthour and suare he  
 wolde neuermore be agane him; and vpon that oth he  
 lette him and his meynye go home. And whenne  
 Cheldryke was on the see he was schamed for to  
 1160 be so discomfite; and he torned agane and come  
 into Cornwaile and distroied moche of the cuntre,  
 and Colgryne that was fled fro the batell  
 at Lincoln come to him. And anone King Arthour

mette with theme at Bath and slew theme both, and  
 1165 the substaunce of all the Saxones were slane  
 at that batell. And thenne was Hoel, the king of  
 Lytell Bretane, beseged in the cuntre with the Scottes;  
 and anone Arthour come to him and him rescowed,  
 and droffe the Scottes into Scotland and folowed  
 1170 theme thoroght oute Scotlande into an ile that  
 is called Lymoyng, which was a wilderness;  
 and thenne he retorned agane and come to  
 Glastenbury. And anone tithinges come to Arthour  
 that King Guillemore of Irelande was come in-  
 1175 to Cornwaile with grete power and distroied the  
 cuntre. And anone Arthour mette with him and discomfit  
 him and droffe him and his meynye into Ireland;  
 and after, whenne Arthour hadd sett hes reame  
 in pese, he wedded Caynor, that was cosyne to  
 1180 Cador, th'erle of Cornwaile. And thenne went he  
 into Ireland with grete power and conquered  
 that lande and tok Guillemore, the king, presoner;  
 and there Guillemore become his man for to holde  
 the lande of Ireland of him and his successours  
 1185 foreuermore. And thenne Arthour conquered the  
 lande of Guthlande and Ireland; and thenne he  
 came agane into this lande and abode here in

#### 10ra

pese xij yere, and held the most roiall house of the world,  
 so that knyghtes of all nacyons come to duell with him  
 1190 for his grete nobley. And because he had so many  
 notable knyghtes that he had proved in tornamentys,  
 he made the Rounde Table for the encheson that none  
 of hem schulde sitte aboue another. And thenne  
 Arthour, by the counseil of his baronage, went for to  
 1195 conquere Fraunce that thenne was called Gall  
 by the Romaines, that were lordes therof and had  
 made a knyght that was called Froll keper  
 thereof. And whenne Arthoure and his men come  
 into Fraunce Froll mette with hem and gaffe hem  
 1200 batell, but Froll was discomfit and fled to  
 Parysch; and Arthour him folowed and beseged the  
 toun. And Froll saw that the people of the toun  
 myght notte kepe yt, for thei had no stuffe of vitail,  
 and sent to Arthour and desired of him that he



1205 myght fight with him for the ryght of Fraunce.  
 And Arthour assented thereto, and on the morowe  
 aftir thei mette beside the toun, well armed, and  
 fought sore. And Arthour slew Froll with Taburn,  
 his guode suorde. And thenne was all the citee  
 1210 yolden to him and so was all the lande of Fraunce;  
 and aftir he passed forth with his oste and conquered  
 Agon, Gascoyn, Peito, Navern, Burgone, Beer,  
 Lohern, Duryrn, Peiters, and many other landes. And  
 thenne he come into Fraunce and duelled there in  
 1215 pese ix yere, and gaffe his knyghtes lyvelod enought  
 in the cuntres that he had conquered. And thenne  
 he come agane into this lande and made a feste,  
 at whiche feste were x kinges and xx erles and  
 many good barones and knyghtes, whiche feste  
 1220 lasted xv daies with justinges and tornamentes.

10rb

And vppon the iij dai of the feste, as Arthour sate at  
 his diner, come messengers fro the emperour of Rome  
 with lettres to Kyng Arthour, him charching by the lettres  
 vppon lyffe and lyme to come to Rome and do his  
 1225 homage, and bryng with him his troage that was  
 graunted by the king Cassabilan of Bretane to Julius  
 Cesar. And Arthour, by the advyse of the kinges  
 and lordes that were at that feste, sent worde  
 to the emperour agane that he schuld nether of him  
 1230 haue homage nor troage, but that he wolde be  
 avenged on the emperour for the dispetefull message  
 that he had him sent. And anone all the kinges  
 that were at that feste promysed Arthour to go  
 with him to werre vppon the emperour, that is to  
 1235 witte, the king of Scotland, the king of Orkeney,  
 the king of Ireland, Guthlande, Denmarke,  
 Almayn, Lytell Bretane, Peito, Boleyn, and  
 Gascoyne. And iche of hem broght to Arthour x  
 m+ men and Arthour himselfe had xv m+ and all  
 1240 his knyghtes of the Rounde Table; and all thei  
 mette togeder at Southampton, and th'erle toke  
 there shippes and toke the see and aryved in  
 Spayne. And anone tithinges come to theme that  
 there was a geaunt in that cuntre that dide

1245 moche harme and raveschid women, and he  
was so moche that no man durst come ner  
him, and that he lay in a hell that ys called  
the Mounte of Seynt Barnard. And anone  
a nyght King Arthour stale away prevely fro  
1250 his oste and to with him Bedwer and Kay,  
that were knyghtes of the Rounde Table, and  
went to hill, there as the geaunt was, and  
slow the geaunt and broght the hedd to the

10va

1255 oste. And men merveled moche thereon, yt was  
so grete, and spake moche of the worthinesse of  
Arthour. And thenne went he forth with his oste  
toward Rome, and the emperour herd of hes comyng  
and assembled a grete oste of Sarsyns, pay-  
1260 nymes, and Cristen men, to the nowmbre of  
iiij xx and x m+, and another oste behynde hem  
come with as many. And Arthour mette with hem  
beside Lucy, and there thei faught strongly,  
for there was alwey xx Romaines agane vj of  
1265 Arthuris men, but th'emperour and the Sarsyns  
trust all in here strenght and not in God and  
that was well seyne for, as the story telleth,  
the Saxones toke no more fusone agane Athurys  
men then xx schepe agane vj wolfes; and ther  
1270 was th'emperour slane and the paynymes fled, and  
Arthure theme folowed and slew so many of hem  
that mervell was to tell. And there was  
diuers lordes of Brutane slane and many  
knyghtes of the Round Table there was slane,  
1275 and Arthour lette bery them in houses of religion.  
And Arthour sent the body of th'emperour to the cite  
of Rome and bad theme that the troage that  
thei sent to him fore, for thei schuld neuer  
haue troage of him. And Arthour thoght to pas  
1280 the Mount Joye and so gone furth to Rome to  
haue wonne the cite, but tithinges come to  
him oute of this lande how Mordred, that  
was newew to King Arthour, and that King  
Arthoure of grete trust lefte to kepe this  
1285 lande whenne he went toward Rome, had  
seased all the lande in to his handes and

helde himselfe as king and held Gyamore  
the quene as his peramour. And whenne King

10vb

- 1290     Arthour dressed him into this lande for to be a-  
venged on Mordred, he left Hoel, his cosyn, with  
halfe his oste in that cuntre for to kepe yt, and come  
to Sandwyche. And Mordred had gadred moche  
people and mette with him at Sandwyche, and  
gaffe sore batell to Arthour. And there was Gawen,  
1295     that was Arthuris nevew, and Anguissell, the  
goode knyghtes of the Rounde Table, slane. And  
Mordred was discomfit and fled into Cornwaile,  
and the king folowed and Mordred assembled  
grete people of Cornwaile and gaffe him a-  
1300     nother batell. And there was Mordred slane and  
many a man was slane on both perties, and all  
the knyghtes of the Rounde Table were slane at that  
batell, and Arthour was wounded to the deth. And  
whenne Gyamore, the quene, wiste therof sche  
1305     stale prevely away and went to Carlion, and ther  
prevely toke the abyte of a none and ther duellyd all  
here lyffe. And King Arthour was caried in a lyter  
to Abron, for yt was told him that there was  
connyng leches, and this was in the xxij yere  
1310     of his regne. But he come neuer agane and therefore  
many of the Bretanes wene he be on lyve and schall  
come agane and conquere this lande; but or he went  
he toke the lande to Constantine, his neuw, that  
was sonne to Cador th'erle of Cornwaile, and bade  
1315     him kepe yt as king to he come agane for Arthour  
had neuer isschu of his body and that was full  
grete pite and hurt to this lande.

**Off King Constantine**

- 1320     And anone Constantine was crouned king, and  
the ij sonnes that Mordred had goten had grete  
envy at Constantyne and assembled grete oste agane  
him; but he mette hem and slew hem both, and when  
he had regned iiij yere he died and lieth at London.

**Off King Aldebryght and King Edelfe**

- 1325 And thenne were ther ij kinges, that is to sey Aldebryght, that was a Dane and helde him king of Northffolk and Southffolk, and Edelfe, that helde him king of all the north cuntre. And thei werred to-gider, but at the last thei were acorded and loved
- 1330 as breder. And Aldebryght wedded Orwen that was Edelfe his suster and had by here a doughter that was called Goldesburght. And the thirde yere aftir Aldebryght died, but ar he died he betoke Goldesburght to Edelfe to kepe, and whenne sche come
- 1335 of age to mary here and to deliver here his king dome. And Edelfe him promysed that he schulde so do but he thought otherwise in his herte, for whenne Goldesbourght come to the age of xiiij yere he married here to a scolyon of his
- 1340 kechyn that was called Hueloke and kepte the lande to himselfe.

**Off King Hueloke**

- And so it happed that Hueloke was ryght heire to the king of Denmarke and went to Denmarke
- 1345 and there was made king; and after he come agane with moche people and slew Edelfe and made king of this lande and regned iij yere and thenne he died and lyeth at Stonehing.

**Off King Conan**

- 1350 And aftir him regned Conan, his nevewe, xiiij yere in pese, and thenne he died and lieth at London.

**Off Certiffe and Gormond**

- And aftir him regned his cosyn Certiffe that
- 1355 was behated of all folke. And in his tyme come Gormond that was sone to King Dawfrike, that was a paynyme, and conquered many cuntres. And he conquered Ireland and thereof herd

the Saxons of Northumbirland and sent for  
1360 him to come distroie the Bretanes; and anone

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he come, and he and the Saxons distroied all the Bretanes  
that were Cristen, and distroied Holy Chirche and  
droffe oute the bischoppis and abbotis, and chased the  
king Certiffe to Chechester and brent the cete;  
1365 and Certyffe escaped and fled into Walles. And  
thenne Gormond gaffe this lande to the Saxones,  
and went is wey into Fraunce and distroied  
the Cristen people. And thenne the Saxones  
chaunged the name of Bretane, and bycause of  
1370 Engest thei called yt England, and the folk  
was called Englysch, and thei devyded the land  
in vij perties and made vij kinges as was in Engest  
tyme, and of the same schires. But anone the kinges  
werred ichon vpon other till thei were all distroied,  
1375 and thenne was the lande withoute a king and were  
paynymes I yere, to seint Gregory was pope of  
Rome; and sawe men of this lande at Rome and had  
grete fantasye in theme and axed of whatte  
cuntre thei were, and the Romayns tolde him that  
1380 thei were of England, but thei saide that all the  
lande were paynymes and miscreant. "Alas," seide he,  
"Thei haue visages like angell. Yt were pite but  
yf thei schuld be crystened." And anone he sent  
Seint Austeyn into England, and xl felowes  
1385 with him that were men of holy lyffe, to preche and  
teche hem the faith. And this was in the iiij yere  
that seint Gregory had ben pope, the yere after  
the Incarnacon of Jhesu Criste v C iiij xx vij.

**Off Seynt Austeyn**

1390 And Seynt Austeyn come into the Ile of Tenet and  
so furth to Caunterbury, whereas King Aldebryght  
ley that was king of Kent, and he him receved  
with grete honoure and gaffe him licence to preche;  
and gaffe him and his felaschipp a duellyng place  
1395 that now is the Abbey of Seynt Austeyn, where-

as he lyeth schryned. And anone, be his prechyng,  
 Aldebryght was conuerted and was baptized  
 and so was Iva the king of Westsex. And after  
 the same Iva graunted the petir pennas to Rome  
 1400 to haue licence to holde scollys of clergy in  
 Englande; and Seint Austeyn come to Rochester and  
 preched, and there thei scorned him and caste  
 vppon him bowellys of schepe and tailles,  
 wherefor yt was seid that Seint Austeyn prayed  
 1405 to God that their childerin myght haue tailles, and  
 so had many of their childerin that were borne  
 long after. And Seynt Gregory herde how he con-  
 uertede the people, and made him archibischopp  
 of Caunterbury and primate of all Englonde and  
 1410 he made ij bischehoppes of his felawes that  
 come with him fro Rome, the toon hight Mallet  
 and was bischopp of London, and the toher  
 Justyne, that was bischopp of Rochester. And  
 in a while all the lande was conuerted and  
 1415 crystened and thenne went Seynt Austeyn  
 into Wailles; there the Bretanes were that  
 were dryven oute of Englonde and the bysch-  
 oppys and abbottes that were dryven oute of  
 England also; and Seint Austeyn told hem þat  
 1420 he was primate of Englande and that thei moste  
 obbey him. And thei seid pleyntly thei wold neuer  
 obbey him nor no Englyschemen, "For the Englysch  
 hath euer ben paynymes to now that ye haue  
 conuerted theme, and we haue allwey be  
 1425 Cristen seth Incarnacon and therefore we  
 will obbey the Archebischoff of Carlion þat  
 is oure lorde and none other." And Seint Austeyn  
 come agane into this lande and tolde King  
 Aldebryght how thei wolde not obbey him,  
 1430 wherefore he was wroth and sent Elfride,

king of North Humbr, to come helpe him to distroie  
 the Bretanes of Wailles and the Archebischoff of Carlion,  
 and mette with him at Leicestre. And so yt befell that  
 there was a Bretane that was king of Leicester

- 1435 that was called Brucyvale, and he was ferd  
of the ij kinges at Leicestr, but he was discomfyte and  
fled oute of the lande and come neuer agane; and the  
ij kinges seased all his landes and departed hem be-  
twene hem, and aftir thei went toward Wailles.
- 1440 And the Bretanes herd of hem, and sent men to them  
in their shirtes and barfote, and asked mercy of hem,  
and thei were so cruell that thei had of hem no pitee.  
but slew hem - that ys to say v C and xij, and then  
the Bretanes saw that, thei assembled a grete oste, and
- 1445 made their capteyne a baron of Wailles that  
was called Bledrike that some tyme was erle of  
Dovonschire; and gaffe batell to hem and slew Aldebryght  
and Elfride fled into North humbr; and after the  
men of the cuntre of Leicestre with strenght made
- 1450 Kadwylne sone of Brucyvale king of Leicestre.

#### **Off King Kadwelyn of Leicester**

- And after this Cadwelyne and Elfride were acorded,  
so that Elfride schulde haue the lande fro Humbre  
to Scotland and Cadwylne all the remenaunt; and
- 1455 aftir Elfride died and Edwyne his sone was made  
king of Northumbre; and after Cadwelyne  
died and Cadwelyne his sone was king. And  
anone Edwyne and he fell at debate so that  
Edwyne with grete power droffe Cadwelyne in-
- 1460 to Ireland; and after Cadwelyne come agane  
and slew Edwyne. And after Edwyne regned  
Offrys, his sonne, ij yere, and died. And after  
him regned Oswald, his sonne, that was a  
goode man, but Cadwelyne wold not lette him
- 1465 in pese, but chased him into North cuntre

12ra

- and slew him, and he lyeth at the abbey of Berdneý,  
whereas God hat shewed many miraclesse for him.  
And after him regned his sone, Oswey, vpon whom  
Peanda, that was brother in lawe to Cadwelyne,
- 1470 werred, but Oswey slow him; and in his tyme Seint  
Chadde was made Byschopp of Lychefeld, in the yere  
of oure lorde Jhesu Cryste cccccciv.



### Off King Cadwaladre

- And aftir Cadwelyne died and aftir him regned  
1475 Cadwaldre, his sonne, in whos tyme was grete scar-  
scenesse of corne and catell, that men couth fynde  
no vytaille to selle for gold nor siluer, but thei lyved  
by rotes and erbes; and thenne fill the grete pesti-  
lence emong hem that euer was sene in this lande,  
1480 for dos that went to bery the ded were beried with  
hem, so that the people fled oute of the lande, and  
this hungre and mortalite dured xj yere. Thenne  
went Calawadre, with a fewe people with him, in-  
to Lytell Bretane, taking Alyn his Cosyn, that  
1485 he moche loved. And as he seiled in the see he  
made grete lamentacione to his people and seid:  
“Dedisti nos domine tanquam oues escarum in gentibus  
dispersisti nos...” and said: “Alas to vs wrecches, for  
we, for oure grete synnes, of whiche we wolde  
1490 not amend vs while we had space, ar nowe  
exiled oute of oure lande, of the whiche the  
Scottes, Saxones, Danes, Romaines, nor no  
nacion couth neuer exile vs, but Jhesu that hast  
put vs in exile for oure synnes, haue mercy vpon  
1495 vs!” and whenne thei come into Lytell Bretane  
the king receyved hem with honoure. And sone  
after seced the grete deth and thenne the  
few people that were lefte sent into Saxon  
for men to come and duell here, and within  
1500 a while come grete plente of Saxons hider,

12rb

- and chaunged the langage of the Bretanes  
and spake there langage that here ys vsed yit,  
and called this land England and thei chaunged  
many names of tounes, and kept the same law  
1505 that the Bretanes dide. And thenne come the  
noble Quene Sexburga oute of Germayne with  
moch people and inhabite all the lande fro Northumbre  
to Scotland, for thei founde no bretanes agane hem  
to haue any rule in this lande. And thenne thei made  
1510 in this lande v kinges: the firste of Westsex, the  
secunde of the Mersche, the thride of Estangle that  
now ys called Northfolke, the iiij of Kent, the v

of Sussex. And aftir whenne Cadwaladre herd  
 that the land was replenysched, he thought to  
 1515 come agane, but firste he praied God to giffe him  
 some knowlech wheder that yt were his will  
 that he schulde come to Bretane agane. And  
 an angell appered to him and seid yt was  
 notte Goddis will that euer he schulde come agane  
 1520 to Bretane, nor that Bretanes schulde haue any  
 rule there vnto tyme that Merlyneys prophecy  
 and the prophecy of Sibill were fullfilled,  
 and that schulde neuer be vnto tyme that the  
 reliques of oure lordis body were broght  
 1525 fro Rome and translate vnto Bretane. Where-  
 fore Calawadre went to Rome and was  
 schryven of the pope of his synnes and  
 there he died in the yere of grace vj C  
 lxxix; and so yt befill that there was grete  
 1530 werre emong this v kinges of this lande,  
 but Ossa, that was king of Northumbre,  
 brother to seynt Oswald, conquered them  
 all and was chief king ouer them  
 all; and after he died the furth  
 1535 yere of his regne.

12va

### **Off King Osbrygh of Northumbr**

And him regned Osbryght in Northumbre, and  
 hit befell so that on a dai he went him to  
 sporte and come to a lordys place that was  
 1540 called Sir Burene Bokerd. And this Osbryght  
 with strenght forlay his wiffe agane hire  
 will, and whenne Osbryght was gone  
 home, Burene come hone and founde his  
 wiffe wepyng and sche tolde him how  
 1545 that King Osbryght had hire schamed.  
 And anone Burene went to the king of  
 Denmark and tolde him of the dispite þat  
 Osbryght had done vnto him and praid  
 him of help to distroie him, and he him  
 1550 graunted, for Burene was his cosyn. And  
 the menetyme, men of Northumbre putte  
 doune Osbryght and chase hem a newe

king that was called Elle; and anone  
the king of Denmark dide assemble  
1555 grete people and sent his ij brederin, Hengar  
and Hubba, with hem into this lande. And thei  
come to Yorke and Osbryght gaffe them  
batell, but he was sone slane, and Elle,  
that was new made king, come agane  
1560 thider to hem with moche people and besyde  
Yorke he gaffe hem batell and there was  
he slane; and the grounde ys yit called Elle-  
crofte. And Hengar and Hubba come furth  
and conquered all the cuntre of Northumbre,  
1565 Kesteuen, Holand, and Lyndesey.

### **How Seint Edmunde was martired**

And so thei went furth into Northffolk, wher-  
as King Edmunde regned and was Crysten,  
and thei droffe him into the castell of Ffrauny-  
1570 ngham; and whenne he see he myght not  
hold yt he come oute to hem and Hengar  
and Hubba had him forsake his Crystendeme

12vb

or thei wolde him sle, but he wolde notte, wherefore thei  
dide bynde him to a tree and schott him full of arowes  
1575 to he was dede, and so was he martired and lyeth at  
Bury. And thenne went the Danes to Reding and  
destroied the cuntre and threwe doune chirches and  
destroied thos that was Crysten; and kyng Elred of Westsex  
come to Reding and gaffe him batell and there  
1580 was he slane.

### **Off King Alfrede**

And after him regned King Alfrede, his sonne, that  
chassed theme into Devonschire and faught with theme,  
and there was Hubba slane and is beried at Hibbelowe.  
1585 And King Alfrede fled away for he had but fewe  
people; thenne went the Danes to Abindone, and  
King Alfrede raised the cuntre and hem folowed  
and gaffe theme strong batell and discomfite theme,  
so that in saluacon of there lyffes thei promysed

1590    Alfrede to bring to him ther king of Denmarke  
          for to be Cristen, and vpon that promisse the king  
          Alfrede lete them go and toke of hem goode hostages.  
          And aftir thei come agane and brought with theme  
          the king of Denmarke, like as thei promysed, and moche  
 1595    people of Denmarke and come to Wynchester, there as King  
          Alfrede lay. And there were thei crystened and there  
          names changed., so that he that was king of the Danes  
          was called Adelstone. And whenne thei had ben  
          xij dayes at Wynchestre thei departed and went a-  
 1600    gane into Denmarke; and whenne Alfrede had regned  
          xx yere he died and lyeth at Wynchestre.

### **Off Edward sone of Alfrede**

And aftir him regned Edward, his sone, in whos  
 tyme the Danes of Northumbre, that were paynymes,  
 1605    sent into Denmark and into Ffraunce to gette them  
          power to distroie the Crysten people; and thei come  
          with grete power, and King Edward gaffe them

13ra

batell, but he was discomfite and fledde; and  
 after he died the xiiij yere of his regne and  
 1610    lyeth and Wynchester.

### **Off King Adelstone**

And aftir him regned his sonne, Adelstone, that  
 gaffe batell to the Danes and droffe Gawfride king  
 of Denmark and his oste oute of this lande. And  
 1615    anone, aftir, the Scottes meved warre agane him  
          and King Adelstone assembled moche people and  
          come to Beuerley, and besought seint John to pray  
          to God to schewe for him some miracle that the  
          Scottis schuld obey him. And whenne he mette  
 1620    with the oste of the Scottys, ther come many bischo-  
          pes and heraldes to trete for pese, and emong  
          hem all King Adelstone kneled doune and besought  
          God to gyffe him grace to smyte depe into a  
          grete stone that stode beside him, yf so were  
 1625    that the Scottes aught to obey him. And with

his suerde he smote an elle into the stone, and  
yet notwithstandyng the grete miracle, the Scottys  
wolde notte obey him but faught with him, but  
thei were discomfite and many of hem slane.  
1630 And thenne retorned King Adelstone to Beuerley  
agane and thanked Seint John; and after the same  
sworde was put into the Toure of London, and ther  
is keped in the kinges tresoure. And afir the  
saide Gawfride, king of Denmark, come agane in-  
1635 to this lande - the iij yere of the regne of King  
Adelstone the yere of oure lorde ix c xxvij - with  
moche people and landed beside Wynchester,  
and brought with him a geaunt that was called  
Colbrand, and he was so grete and so long þat  
1640 he loked ouer the walles of Wynchestre fro the  
gyrdell vpward. And Adelstone lay at Wynchestre;

13rb

and the king of Denmark sent vnto him a herold  
of armes to witte wheder he wolde finde a man  
to fight with Colbrand for the ryght of the kingdome  
1645 of Northumbre, that the Danes had clamed byfore  
by the tyle of Haueloke, that wedded Goldesburgh,  
the kingis doughter of Northumbre. And Adelstone sent  
him worde that he wolde finde on to fight with  
Colbrande, but yt was so that no man wolde take  
1650 the batell on hand, wherefor Adlestone was full  
sory and besoght god of his help. And at nyght,  
when he was on slepe, ther come an angell  
to him fro heven and bad him go on the morow  
to the north gate of Wynchestre, and there schuld he  
1655 mete with a palmer that schulde take the  
batell on hand; and so he dide and mette with  
the palmar, and he toke vpon him the batell, and  
there thei were putte togeder in a lytell island  
beside Winchester that now ys called the Abbey  
1660 of Hide, and there the palmar slew Colbrande.  
And thenne the King Adelstone asked of the palmer  
what was his name, and he told him in counceyll  
that he was Gye of Warwyk, and praied him that  
he wolde not tell his name of a twolmonth afir;  
1665 and the king wold haue had him to duell with  
him but he wolde not, but went forth on his

pilgramage. And thenne retorned Gawfride and  
the Danes into Denmark with moche schame. And  
after King Adelston wedded the emperouris  
1670 doghter of Rome, and had with hire an c white  
stedes trapped in cloth of golde, and a cuppe of golde  
sette with precious stones, the whiche ys called  
the Regall of England and is in the Abbey  
of Westmynster, in kepying, and at tymes of  
1675 coronacions, kinges drink thereof, and no tyme  
ellys; and whenne Adelstone had regned xv yere  
he died and lyeth at Malmesbury.

13va

#### **Off Edmund brother of Adelstone**

And aftir him regned Edmund his brother, by-  
1680 cause that Adelstone had non isshu; and he  
regned vij yere and thenne he died and lyeth  
at Glastenbury.

#### **Off Eldrede, brother of Adelstone**

And aftir him regned Eldrede, his brother, in  
1685 whos tyme Arnolff, king of Denmark, come in-  
to Northumbre with grete power and kept the  
land of Northumbre ij yere; and thenne Eldrede  
droffe him oute, and whenne he had regned  
xij yere and a halfe, he died and lyet at Wyncestre.

#### **1690 Off Edwyne, brother of Adelstone**

And aftir him regned Edwyne, his brother,  
iiij yere; and thenne he died and lyeth at Wynchestr.

#### **Off King Edgare**

And aftir him regned Edgare, his sonne, and  
1695 was king ouer all the kinges of Scotland, Ireland,  
and of all England, and was the worthiest  
king betwene Arthour and him; and he had  
isshu be his wiff Edward, that aftir was  
an holy martir. And his wiffe died; and thenne

- 1700 was ther a maide that was called Estrild,  
that was doghter to Orgar, a baron of  
Devonschire, and the king herd moche tell  
of hire bewte and sent a knyght of his called  
Ethelwolde to se hire, to the entent that yf sche  
1705 were so faire as men said that sche was,  
that thenne the king wold hire wedd. And when  
Edilwolde saw hire, that sche was so bewtyvous,  
he toght to begyle the king and to haue hir  
himselpe, and spake to hire fader that he mygth  
1710 wedd hire, and he graunted him; and thenne  
Edilwold come to the king and tolde him  
that sche was faire of visage, but, he seid,  
sche had a foule body. "Well," quod the king,  
"thenne wyll not I haue hire," and anon

13vb

- 1715 Edelwold went agane and wedded hir, and told  
the king that he had wedded hire bycause that  
sche was hire faderis heire, and not bycause of  
hire bewte; and after he had by here a sonne, and  
bycause that the king schuld not desire hire, he  
1720 praied the king to cristen the child, and so he dide.  
And aftir, whenne the king herd tell so moche  
of hire bewte, he thocht that Edelwold hadd  
begyled him, and went on a dai to se hire, and  
whenne he saw hire, he toght to sle Edelwold;  
1725 and sent him on a erand to Yorke and vnknownen  
men slew by the wey; and as sone as he was dede  
the king wedded Estrilde. And therfor, Seint  
Dunstone rebuked the king, because that sche  
was his gosshep so that he myght nott wedde  
1730 hire be the lawe, and neuer after that Estrild  
loved seint Dunstone; and after the king hadd  
by here a sonne that was called Eldrede, and when  
Eldrede was vj yere olde, his fader died, the xvij  
yere of his regne and lyeth at Glastenbury.

1735 **Off seint Edward the Martir**

And aftir him regned Edward, his eldest sonne, þat  
was a goode, holy man; and on a day whenne he  
was on huntyng, he come fro his meynye all



vnto the castell of Corffe to se Eldrede his brother,  
 1740 that there was norysched with Estrild, the quene.  
 And whenne the quene saw him, sche thought to  
 sle him forbecause that Eldrede, hire sonne, myght  
 be king; and whenne the king dranke, a knyght  
 of the queneis, by hire bidding, with a knyffe smote  
 1745 him to the herte so that he died; and the knyght  
 fled into Ffraunce, and the king was lad into  
 Glastenbury and there he lyeth, for whome God  
 hath schewed many miracles; and this was  
 in the yere of oure lord ix C iiij xx.

1750 **Off King Eldrede and**  
**King Swyne**

14ra

And after him regned Eldrede, his brother; and Seint  
 Dunstone, that thenne was Archebischof of Caunter-  
 bury, him crowned. And after Seint Dunstone assoy-  
 1755 led the quene and gaffe hire penaunce for hir synne;  
 and he died and ys schryned at Glastenbury, wher-  
 as he was first a monk. And sone after King  
 Swyne of Denmark come with grete people and  
 conquered all this lande, for the people of the  
 1760 lande loved not Eldred, forbycause that goode  
 seint Edward his brother was slane for  
 him; and this Eldrede wedded an Englysche-  
 woman and had by hire a sonne that was called  
 Edmund Irenside, and another that was called  
 1765 Edwyne; and whenne he sawe he couth haue  
 no people to resiste King Swyne, he fled into  
 Normandy and wedded the duke of Normandis  
 suster, and gate vppon here ij sonnes, the toon  
 hight Alfrede, and the thother Edward, that  
 1770 after was Seint Edward the Confessour; and the  
 king and this Swyne regned in this lande xv  
 yere and he died and lyeth at Yorke. And thenne  
 Knowt, his sonne, regned, but Eldred come oute of  
 Normandy with grete power and droffe him into  
 1775 Denmark; and anone after, Knowt come oute of  
 Denmark with grete people and droffe Eldred into  
 London and there Eldrede died the ix yere of his  
 regne, and lieth at Poules.

### Off King Knowt and Edmund Irenside

- 1780 And aftir him regned Knowt, and anone this  
Edmund Irenside began to werre vpon him, but  
thei were sone accorded and departed the realme  
betwene hem and were sworn bretherin. And  
aftir on Edrich of Stratton, that was a baron,  
1785 thought to haue Knowte king of all the land,  
and praid Edmund Irenside to dyne with him  
and so he dide; and at nyght, whenne he  
schuld go to bedde, there stode an ymage like

14rb

- an archier with a bowe bent in his hand and  
1790 an arow therin, and the king toched the arow  
and yt smote him thorow and slow him, and  
so by that engyne was he slane; and anone  
the tratour toke the ij sonnes of Edmund Irenside  
and broght theme to Knowte and tolde him  
1795 how he had done, bycause that Knowte schuld  
be king of all the lande, and anone Knowte made  
to bynde his handys behinde him and caste him  
in the Temmes and there was the tratour drowned.  
And the ij childerin were put to the Abbot of  
1800 Westmynster to kepe, the thon hight Edward,  
and the tother Edwyne. And aftirward Knowte  
wedded Eme, that was wiffe to Eldrede, and  
by counceyl of here, he sent the ij childerin in-  
to Denmark by a Dane that hight Walgar and  
1805 bad him slee them; and he had pite of the childerin,  
and lefte hem with the king of Hungre to norysch  
and told that thei were inheritours to the Croun  
of England, and he kept them. And aftir,  
Edwyne died, and Edward wedded the kinges  
1810 doughter of Hungr and his heire - and Engliche  
men called him in their cronicles Edward  
the Outelawe - and he gate vpon hire a sone  
that hight Malcolyne. And aftir this, Knowte  
conquered all Norwey, and thenne he become  
1815 so proude that he wend he had ben as grete  
as Godde. And so yt happened that, on a day,  
he was at Westmynster, and the water of the

Temes folowed so hye that yt come into  
 the paleys; and whenne Knowte sawe that  
 1820 he toke a yerde in his hande and smote the water  
 and seid, "Y comaunde the water to torn a-  
 gane," but for all that the water wolde nott  
 leve, but come vpon him so that he stode in  
 the water on the schoes. Thenne come he a-  
 1825 wey, and in presence of his people, he kneled

14va

doune and helde vp his handys and seid, "O God, þat  
 art lorde of all thing and art eternall, and y  
 am a wrecched caytiff and mortall and haue no  
 duracion but be thi sufferaunce, y yeld me to  
 1830 thi mercy." And anone after, he went to Rome  
 and dide schrife him of his foli, and come a-  
 gane, and whenne he had regned xx yere  
 he died and lyeth at Wyncester.

#### **Off Heralde the sonne of Knowt**

1835 And after regned Herald, his sonne, and he  
 was so lyght of fote that men called him  
 Heralde Harefote. And whenne he had regned  
 ij yere, he died, and lyeth at Westmynster; and  
 he was full evell and exiled his moder with-  
 1840 oute eny cause.

#### **Off King Hardknowt**

And after him regned his brother, Hardknowt,  
 that toke Heralde oute of his graue and smote  
 of his hede and caste yt in a gonge and his  
 1845 body into Temes, because he had exiled his  
 moder, and fischers fonde his body and keped  
 yt at Seint Clementis chirche. And whenne  
 this Hardknowt had regned v yere, he died  
 withoute isshu and lieth at Wynchester and  
 1850 after his deth, the Englysche lordes by on assent  
 driven the Danes oute of the lande and made  
 suraunce emong hemselfe that neuer non  
 Dane schuld be king of this lande for the  
 grete vylens þat the Danes dide to Englysche-

- 1855 men, for but thei made curtesey to the Danes  
 wher so thei mette hem, thei schuld be beten  
 and put in prison, and many other dispytes  
 thei dide them; wherfor the lordis of this  
 land sent in to Normandy for the ij brether,  
 1860 Alfrede and Edward, to the entent that  
 Alfrede myght be king; but yt hapened  
 that Alfrede was gone in to Hungre to speke  
 with his brother, Edward the Outelawe, and  
 so the messengers brought Alred and aryved

14vb

- 1865 at Southampton. And the erle Godwyne of Westsex  
 thought that his sonne schulde be king, that he had  
 goten be his wiffe that was doghter to King Knowt,  
 and he mette with Alrede at Southampton and slew  
 him and xij gentilmen that were lordes sonnes  
 1870 of Normandy that come with Alred. And whenne  
 the lordis herd of this, thei seid that that tratour  
 Godwyne schuld be ded, wherfore he fled in to  
 Denmark and lefte his erledome of Westsex.

**How Seint Edward was  
 1875 crowned king of England**

- And aftir the lordes of this lande sent into Normandy  
 for Edward, and he was broght hider and crouned  
 and anoyted with grete dignite, and was full of  
 vertues and hated synne and loved well Holy  
 1880 Chirche, and made goode lawes in this lande that  
 yet ben holde. And aftirward, yt was so whenne  
 that he herde masse of Seint John Euangeliste, Pat  
 he moche loved, he come fro the chirche at Haueryng  
 of the Boure, and he mette with a pilgreme that  
 1885 asked him sume guode for the love of Seint John  
 the Euangeliste. And he toke the ring of his finger  
 prevely, that no man wiste, and gaffe yt the  
 pilgreme, and the pilgreme him thanked and  
 went his wey; and afterward, erle Godwyne,  
 1890 that was fled into Denmark, herde that Edward  
 was so goode and mercyable and come to him  
 and lowly asked him mercy; and King Edward

wold giffe him no grace withoute assent of his  
 lordes and the lordes assented that he schuld  
 1895 haue grace, wherefore the king him pardoned and  
 restored him agane to his erledome. And after  
 the king wedded his doghter, but thought þat  
 he were wedded, yet he lyved chaste and so  
 dide his wyffe, and whenne sche had ben  
 1900 quene ij yere, sche died, and he wold neuer hafe  
 wiffe after. And the king gaffe Harold, that  
 was sonne to Godwyn, the Erldome of

15ra

Oxenford; and aftirward the duke William of Normandy,  
 that was suster sone to Seint Edward, and was  
 1905 bastard - but his fader wedded hire after that he  
 was born, and so was he mulery by the lawe of the  
 Chirche - and this duke come in to this lande for to see his  
 oncle. And Seint Edward praied his lordes that, for  
 as moche as he had non isshu of his body, that thei  
 1910 wolde make aftir his descesse Duke William, his  
 nevew, king of this lande, and thei assented well there-  
 to. This Seint Edward made the chirche of Westmynster  
 the secunde tyme, and King Sibar made yt the first  
 tyme. And after, on Whitson dai, as Seint Edward  
 1915 herde masse in the grete chirch of Westmynster, and  
 at the leuacion of Godys body, he toke vp a grete  
 laughter, wherof many men that were by had  
 grete mervell; and whenne masse was done, thei  
 axed of him whi he did so, and he seid to hem how  
 1920 that "King Swyne of Denmark come vpon the see  
 with grete power to distroye vs, and I saw him and  
 all his folk drenche vpon the see, and whenne y  
 sawe that sight, I couth not forbere laughter," and  
 another tyme, the erle Luernch byside him stode at  
 1925 the leuacion, and saw the forme of brede torne in-  
 to likenesse of a yong childe, and lyfte vp his ryght  
 hande and first blessed the king and after the  
 erle, and the erle put vpon the king to make him  
 to se that blessed sight: "Syre Erle," quod the king, "I  
 1930 se well inought that ye do se. Wherefore, lette vs  
 trewly serue that blyssed lorde that scheweth to  
 vs suche grace." And after yt happened that  
 two men of Lodlowe went oute of England to

the Holy Lande, and had done ther pilgremage and  
1935 were comyng agane aboute Martymasse, and  
whenne thei were iij myle on this halfe Jerusa-  
lem, thei mette with a pilgreme that axed of hem

15rb

of what lond thei were, and thei seid of England,  
whereas guode Edward was king. "Ffare ffrendes,"  
1940 quod he, "take this ringe and bere yt to youre king, and  
delyver yt to him and sei that the pilgreme  
that he gaffe this ringe at Haueryng of the Boure  
sent yt him. And tell him that y am John the  
Euangeliste, his frende that he moche lovyth, and  
1945 that he schall be in Heuen on the xij day next  
comyng, ther to duell foreuer more." And whenne  
he had so said, he vanysshed away fro hem, and  
thei went furth. And or thei had walked a myle,  
thei leid hem doune and fell on slepe, and whenne  
1950 thei waked, thei were but ij myle fro Caunterbury.  
"For soth," seid on of hem, "This is not the cuntre  
where we were whenne we laid vs doune to  
slepe." And axed of the scheppardes what cuntre  
yt was and thei seid yt was the cuntre of Kent,  
1955 in England, and the pilgremes thanked God; and  
anone thei come to King Edward, to Westmynster,  
and told him of all there aventour and toke him  
the ringe, and he knew well the ringe and gaffe  
the pilgremes grete gifftes. And after he made  
1960 him redy to dye and on the xij even next  
after he died at Westmynster, the xiiij yere of  
his regne, the yere of our lorde m+ lxxv; and after  
was he translate and put in schryne at Westmynster  
by the noble martir Seint Thomas of Caunterbury.  
1965 And in the yere of Seint Edwardis deth, Harold,  
the sonne of Godwyne, wold haue gone into  
Flaunders but he was by tempest driven into  
Normandy and there was he taken and broght  
to duke William; and the duke was proposed to  
1970 haue slane him for the deth of Alrede, that was  
Seint Edwardis brother, that was sonne to  
Quene Eme, moder of Duke Richard of Normandy,

heire to the duke William; but this Harold suare  
 to him vpon the sacrement that he wold, after  
 1975 the discese of King Edward, wedd the doghter  
 of Duke William, and also that he wold kepe the  
 londe of Englund to vse of the saide duke  
 William, and vpon that oth the duke lette him goo.

### Off King Harold

1980 And after the discesse of Seint Edward, Harold,  
 that was sonne to the erle Godwyne, by strenght  
 of his frendys, croned him king of all Englund,  
 notwithstandyng the oth that he had made to  
 Duke William, and therfur the Normayns called  
 1985 him in there coronicles Harold Pronire. And in the  
 same yere that he was crouned came Harolde,  
 king of Denmark, and aryved in Scotland with  
 grete people, and come to Yorke and there he slew  
 m+ men of armes and c prestes; and Harold,  
 1990 king of Englund, come to him with grete people  
 and he slew Harold, king of Denmark, with  
 his own handes in plane batell and the Danes  
 were slane, the moste party of hem, and the  
 remanent fled into Denmark. And whenne  
 1995 Duke William herd that Harold had crouned  
 him king, he suore that he wold be avenged  
 vpon him and assembled grete people and  
 come into this lande; and anone tithingys  
 come to Harold how Duke William was aryved  
 2000 in Englund, and had gotten the toure abowt  
 Hastyng and myned the castell, and anon King  
 Harold went theder with as moche people as he  
 couth raise; and whenne he come thidre the duke  
 put him in eleccion wheder he wold wedd  
 2005 his doughter, like as he had suorn, and hold  
 the land of him be troage, or elles he wold  
 fight for the title therof with him with his  
 owne handes. Harold trusted more on his

folk then on his own strenght and seid that he



- 2010 wolde fight with all the oste, and so he dide, but  
Harold was slane sone and his meynye discomfit.  
This batell was ended at Tonbrigge on the  
day of Seint Calixte, the secunde yere of the regne  
of the said Harold, and then was his body lade  
2015 to Waltham and ther he lyeth.

**Off William Bastard, Duke of Normandy  
and conquerore of Englonde**

- And aftir him this duke of Normandy conquered  
2020 all the lande and was crouned king at Crystmas  
next after, and thenne went he into Normandy  
agane and feched Maude, his wyffe, and made hir  
quene. And anone after Mancolyn, the king of  
Scotland, begane to strive with him but King  
2025 William toward him went with grete power,  
and Malcolyne was ferd of him and was fayne  
to become his man and dide him homage. And  
after this William went in Normandy agane  
and werred vpon King Philip of Fraunce. And  
2030 he had isshu iiij sonnes, Robert Curteys,  
William Rous, Richard, that died sone after his  
birth, and Herry Bewclerk, and a doghter  
that hight Mawde, that wedded the erle of Boloynes,  
and other iiij doghters. And thenne fill he seke, and  
2035 he assigned all Normandy to Robert Curteys, and  
Englond to William Rous, and all his tresoure  
to Harry Bewclerk; and whenne he had regned  
xxij yere he died and lyeth at Cane in Normandy.

**Off William Rows**

- 2040 And after him regned his sonne, William Rows,  
whiche was full contrarious and distroied many  
Howses of Religion, and he distroied xxvj townes  
for to enlarge his forest, and of his wikednesse he  
exiled the Archebischop of Caunterbury. And on a  
2045 nyght, a monk of Westmynster dremed that this<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Missing from the narrative here is the monk's dream, as well as William Rufus' own premonition of his death. Both are present in Brie, and interpreted by the King's men to suggest that he should not go hunting the following day. The EUL MS is also missing the

regned xxxvj yere he<sup>3</sup> died and lyeth at Reding,  
 and thenne his fader was king agane. And  
 in his tyme was the citee of Ierusalin distroied  
 with the Sowdene of Babilone, and the Sersens and  
 2050 the Holy Crosse born away, and all that were  
 Cristen within the citee were put to deth. And  
 whenne Harry fitz Emperies had regned, firste  
 and laste, xxxv yere and v monthes, he died  
 and lyeth at Ffount Euerarde.

2055 **Off King Richarde the Firste  
 after the Conqueste**

And after him regned Richard, his sonne, a strong  
 knyght and a goode, that in the secunde yere of his  
 regne went into the Holy Lande and with him  
 2060 Baldewyne, Archebischop of Caunterbury, Hubbard,  
 Bischop of Salysbury, Randolfe, th'erle of Glowcestre,  
 and many other lordes of England; and in his  
 wey, he wan Cypry with strenght and went ffurth  
 to Jerusalem, and as moche as the Cristen had  
 2065 loste, he yt conquered saue the Holy Crosse; and he  
 wanne the citee of Acres, and he wold be serued  
 with Sarzyns heedes at his table wherfore thei  
 drad him moche. And thenne come worde to him  
 that his brother John, that was erle of Oxenford,  
 2070 wolde be king of Englund, and thenne he  
 retourned into Englund; but the duke of Ostryche  
 toke him prisoner and lad him to the emperour of  
 Almayne, and after he was raunsomid at  
 C m+ ti and into the payment therof euery  
 2075 other chales in England was broken. And anon,  
 as his brother John herd tell of him comyng,  
 he durst not abyde him but went into Nor-  
 mandy and praied the king of Fraunce to  
 help him, and he said he wold; and whenne

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reigns of Henry II and Stephen. It resumes with the accession of Henry FitzHenry the son of Henry II.

<sup>3</sup>Henry FitzHenry.

2080 King Richard come into England, he went to  
Wynchester and crouned himselfe eftsones

16rb

king, and thenne went he with grete power  
into Normandy to be avenged of his brother  
and the king of Fraunce; and John, brother to  
2085 King Richard, assembled a grete oste to fight with  
him, but thei were so ferde of him that thei  
were fayne to fle into Fraunce; and thenne  
King Richard leid sege to the Castell of Gailard,  
and there was he slane with a quarell the ix  
2090 yere of his regne, and lyeth besyde his fader  
at Ffount Euerard.

### **Off King John**

And after him regned his brother John, forasmoche  
as he died withoute isshu of his body, and was crouned  
2095 at Westmynster of the Archebisshop of Caunterbury. And  
anone he went into Normandy and werred with  
the king of Fraunce, to he loste al Normandy and  
Agone, and thenne he come home agane. And in  
the same tyme died Hubard, the Archbischoff of Can-  
2100 turbury and the priour, and the covent chosen  
on Langton, a clerk that was duellyng in  
Rome, to be archebisshop, agane the kingis wille,  
and the pope him admitted, wherfor the king  
was wroth, and exiled the prior and chassed the  
2105 covent fro Caunterbury, wherefore the pope sent  
his letters to the Bischof of London and iij  
other bischopes to enterdite this lande, and  
and so thei dide. And so all chirche dores wore schut  
and no devyne seruice don in hem, wherefore the  
2110 king seased the lyvelod of the saide bischopes  
and all the goodys that he couth gete of eny  
spirituall men, and destroyed there wodes. And after,  
the Iresch men moved werre agane the king,  
wherfore he sent to the abbotes of the ordoure of  
2115 Cistern and bad theme ordeyne him x m+ marcs  
to help him in his werre agane the Ireschmen.  
And thei sent him worde that thei wold not,

wherefor he droffe them fro there houses and  
 toke from theme there godys, so that some of  
 2120 them fled to Rome and tolde the pope; and  
 anone the pope sent ij legatys into this  
 land, Pandolff and Durant, that cursed the  
 king be name and all that with him dide dele  
 in eny wise and went agane to Rome. And  
 2125 whenne the pope saw he wolde not amend,  
 he sent to the king of Fraunce and praied  
 him to werre vppon King John, and when  
 King John herd therof he was ferd,  
 and sent to the pope to be assoyled and  
 2130 wold obbey the popes award; and the  
 pope sent Pandolf agane, and he him  
 assoiled in this forme, that he schulde yeld  
 vp the lande into the popes handes, and  
 take yt of him, and yeld him yerly there-  
 2135 fore m+ marc, and that he schuld make ful  
 restitucon of all that he had taken of Holy  
 Chirche. And thenne King John knelyd down  
 before Pandolfe, in presens of his lordes,  
 and seid, "Y submitte me to the, in the name  
 2140 of Pope Innosent the thirde." And he toke  
 the croune of his hedde and deliuered yt to  
 Pandolfe, and he deliuerd yt agane vnto  
 him in the forme abouesaid, so that he and  
 his successours foreuer schuld pay to the  
 2145 pope and successours m+ marc yerly, that ys to  
 say, viij c marc for England, and iij c marc for  
 Ireland; and after he restored to holy chirch  
 there godys, and cried mercy of the Archbischof  
 of Caunterbury and of the covent and thei  
 2150 him pardoned. And after the lordes of this  
 lande beganne to werre with the king,

because that he wolde not lette theme haue there  
 lawes that seint Edward had stablischt. And the  
 Archbischof of Caunterbury and the lordes assembled  
 2155 in a medewe beside Stanes called Rounde Mede,  
 and thenne the king treted with hem and made

them a chartur of there lawes and ffraunchesies  
 suche as thei desired, and that chartur was  
 called Carta de Rounde Mede; but he hild yt but  
 2160 a while but begane to breke there lawes agane,  
 wherefore the baronage of this lande sent to Philip,  
 king of Fraunce, and praied him to send Lowes,  
 his sonne, into this lande to be theire king; and  
 thei kepped him in London and abode the  
 2165 comyng of Lowes. And anone Lowes come with  
 moche people and toke the Castell of Rowchester,  
 and on the morow he come to London and all  
 the lordes that were there dide him homage and fealte.  
 And King John fledde toward Lincoln and come to  
 2170 the Abbey of Swyneshed, and as he sate at mete,  
 he axed of a monk of the howse what suche a  
 loffe was worthe as stode byfore him and the  
 monke seid yt was worth a halfe penny. "Then,"  
 seid the king, "and I may liffe this halfe yere, suche  
 2175 a loffe schall be worth xxd." Thenne, thought the  
 monke, better yt were that he were dede; and anone  
 he went into his gardine and toke a tode and  
 broched here thorow with a knyffe and let the venome  
 renne into a cuppe with ale, and come byfore  
 2180 the king and seid, "Wesseile, for better ale drank  
 ye neuer," and the king bad him "Begynne," and  
 so he dide, and dranke a guode draught, and the king  
 dranke a grete draught therof. And anone the  
 monk went into his dorter and died, and the  
 2185 king rode forth to Newerk and there he died of  
 that poisonne on the morow after, in the

17ra

xvij yere of his regne, and lyeth at Wynchester; and  
 had isshue Herry that after him was king, and  
 Richard, that was erle of Cornwaile, Isabell, that  
 2190 emperies of Rome, Alianore þat was quene of Scotland.

### **Off Harry the Thirde**

And after him, Harry, his sonne, was made king at  
 ix yere of age by the labour of Sqalo, a legate that  
 the pope sent fro Rome to John the king agane  
 2195 Lowes of Ffraunce. And thenne was there grete

were betwene Lowes and King Harry, and this  
legate cursed Lowes therfore; and Lowes saw he  
myght not endure and treted with the king, and thei  
were so acorded that Lowes schulde haue m+ ti and  
2200 avoide the lande and neuer come agane, and this a-  
ward was made at Merton. And thenne went the  
king and the lordes to London and assembled a parliament  
and there was made the grete charter in affirmans of  
2205 the Round Mede and other articles, and also the Charter  
of the Forest, and Hubard of Burght was made chief  
Justice in the iiij yere of his regne. And the same  
yere was seint Thomas of Caunterbury translate, the  
l yere after his martirdome. And after the king  
wedded Alianor, that was suster to the erle of  
2210 Province, and had isshu by here Edward, that after  
was king, Edmund, Margarete, that after was  
quene of Scotlande, and Beatrix, that after was  
Cunteis of Bretane, and Katerine, that died a maid  
in religion. And the xlvij yere of his regne begane  
2215 the werre betwix him and his barones, and on  
Seint Pancras dai was the Batell of Lowys by-  
twene him and the barones, and ther was the  
king taken and put in preson in the castelle of Bar-  
keley, and Sir Edward, his sonne, also, and many  
2220 other; and after Sir Edward escaped oute of the  
warde of Sir Simon of Mountford, and many of the

17rb

lordes come to him, and at Kenyngworth, Sir Symon  
Mountfford mette with him, but Sir Simon was  
discomfite; and he gadered moche people and mette with  
2225 Sir Edward, and at Evesham, and there was Sir Simond  
slane, and Hught Spencer, his fader, also, and  
many mo; and thos that escapad gadred people and  
fled into the north cuntre but Sir Edward mette  
with them at Chesterfeld and ther thei wer discomfite,  
2230 and Robert, erle of Ffrerers, was taken ther. And  
after Sire Edward bette down the walles of Leicestre  
and feched his fader oute of preson and crouned  
him king agane, wherfor he was called  
henricus ilim coronatus. And after when the  
2235 lande was well stablischd Edward and many  
other lordes went into the Holy Lande, and in the

meanetyme, King Harry died, whenne he had  
regned lvj yere and xix wekes, in the yere of  
our lorde m+ CC lxxij, and lyeth at Westmynster;  
2240 and he made the chirche of Westmynster.

### **Off King Edward the Firste**

Syre Edward was in the Holy Lande and wanne  
Acres, and dide so grete actes in that cuntre that  
all the worlde of him spake; and after he come  
2245 into this lande, to London, and the citezins caste  
oute golde and siluer grete plente in reuerens of  
him, and all the conditis in the cite ranne wyne;  
and after he was corouned at Westmynster  
and to coronacon come Sir Alisandre, king of  
2250 Scotland, and c knyghtes with him riding vpon  
a c white stedys rychely trapped, and whenne thei  
come to the palace thei lette there stedis goo and  
who so toke them had them frely. And after Lewlyn,  
prince of Waylles, sent into Fraunce to the erle  
2255 Mountforde, to wedde his doughter, and the erle sent  
his doughter to him. And a marchaund of Bristow,  
that come fro Burdews with iij schippes charged with

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wyne, toke hire and brought hire to King Edward,  
and forasmoche as before that tyme the erle of  
2260 Mountford had promysed King Edward that he  
wold not mary here withoute his assent, therfor  
King Edward kept hire stille and wold not let  
hire come at Lewlyn; wherfore Lewlyn bygan  
to werre with the king Edward and dide moche  
2265 harme to Englyschmen. And the king went in-  
to Walles and with strenght toke Lewlyn, so þat  
he was fayne to gyffe the king a m+ ti<sup>4</sup> for to  
haue th'erle Mountford doughter to wyffe, and  
also bemide him to come to the kingis Parliament  
2270 foreuer, and vpon that condicon he hadde the  
gentilwoman. And after the king somond a  
Parliament and made many statutes and sent  
for Lewlyn to come therto, but he wold not,

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<sup>4</sup> £50,000.



wherfor the king with grete people went in-  
2275 to Walles agane and toke him; and he kneled  
so long before the king and axed him mercy  
so that he lette him haue his liffe and pardoned  
his offence. And after, the seid Lewlyn, by  
the strenght of Daudid Pruys, his brother, be-  
2280 gane to werre agane with the king, wherfore  
the king went in Walles with strong power and  
brent townes and slew many Walschmen,  
and also many of his men were slane in  
that werre, but at the laste Lewlyn fled,  
2285 but Sir Roger Mortimer mette with him, and  
smote of his hede and broght yt to the king;  
and so conquered he that cuntre, and called  
himselpe lorde of Wailles as reason was.  
And thenne the seid Daudid Pruys, brother to  
2290 Lewlyn, seid that he wold be prince of  
Walles, and somond a Parliament at Denby,  
but anone the king him chased and toke

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him and made to draw him and hang him and set  
his quarters at foure townes in Walles in exemple  
2295 of suche trators. And thenne all men toke King  
Edward for prince of Wailles and him dide homage  
and fealte. And anone after another Walschman,  
called Ris ap Marecke, meved werre agane the king  
but he was sone taken and lad to Yorke, and there  
2300 was he hanged and quartered as a trator. And after  
the king banysched many of his Justices and clerkes  
of his courtes that were ateint of false  
poyntes, that is to sey Sir Thomas Weiland, Justice,  
and other; and also, at the request of his comyns,  
2305 he voided all the Jewes oute of this lande by auctorite  
of a Parliament. And after, another Walschman  
called Madok meved were agane the king and a-  
none he was taken and hanged. And thenne fill  
grete debate in Scotland aftir the deth of Alexandre,  
2310 king of the lande, for diuers lordes of Scotland and  
of England clamed to be heire to Alexander. And  
the Scottys put yt in juggement of King Edward  
and anone he made se the coronycles of Scotland,  
wherby thei fonde that Bailol, a lord of Ffraunce, was

2315 next heire of blode to Alexander, and also that the  
 lande of Scotlande was holden of the king of England  
 by homage and fealte, wherfore King Edward a-  
 awarded that Bailol schulde be king. And after this,  
 Sir John Bailol meved werre agane the king by  
 2320 procuryng of the Scottes, and wold not do his homage,  
 but distroied townes in the marches, wherfor King  
 Edward assembled a grete power and come to Berwike  
 and leid segge thereto and was dryven of iij or iiij  
 sawtes wherfore the Scottes made ryme in repreve  
 2325 of King Edward in this wise: "What wenys thou  
 Edward with thi long shankes, for to wynne Berwike  
 all oure vnthanked; gei pike and whenne thou hast

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yt gei dike yt," but sone after he wanne the toun  
 and brent and slew all that were therein to the number  
 2330 of xxij m+; and at the same assawt were slane but  
 xxviiij of Englyschmen, and none of hem was of  
 reputacion saue Sir Richard of Cornwaile, that was  
 slane with a quarell. And thenne, on the morow, come  
 Sir John Bailol and his oste toward Berwike and the  
 2335 king faught with hem and slew xx m of theme and  
 toke Sir John Bailol, that was King of Scotland,  
 prisoner, and many other grete lordes of Scotland,  
 and ledde hem with him to the Toure of London and  
 there suare vpon the Sacrament that thei schuld  
 2340 neuer bere armes agane him, but euer to be trewe  
 legmenis to King Edward. And then Englysche-  
 men made ryme in this wyse: "thoos schatering  
 Scottes holde we for sottys of wrenchens vnware,  
 that erly in a mornyg with an evyll chevyng  
 2345 were dryven fro Dunbare" - the batell was faste  
 by Dunbar. And thenne the king of Fraunce seised  
 Gion into his handes and toke thoos that were  
 gouerenours in the cuntre vnder King Edward presoners,  
 wherfor King Edward with grete people went thidre  
 2350 and aryved in Fflaunders, and whenne the  
 king of Fraunce wiste therof he was ferd and  
 toke trues for ij yere and delyverd his presoners.  
 And therevpon King Edward retourenede into  
 Englund agane. And anone after the Scottys  
 2355 bygane to werre vpon King Edward and Sir John

Bailol hoped that he myght not haue his purpose,  
wherfore he wente out of the cuntre and come neuer  
agane, and the Scottys chase hem a king, a  
ribald that was come of nought, called William  
2360 Walles. And anone King Edward went into  
Scotland with a ryall ooste and mette with the

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Scottys at Fawkirke, and slew of theme xxxij m+  
and William Walles fled away, and at that batell were  
slane of Englyschmen but xliiij. And thenne come  
2365 King Edward home and wedded Margarete,  
suster of King Philip of Ffraunce, at London, and  
thenne went he into Scotland the thirde time  
and made all the lordes of that lande to become  
his men, and William Walles was taken  
2370 and lad to London and there hanged, and his hede  
sette vpon London Brigge. And thenne made  
the king Justices of Trailbaston, to enquire  
of extorcioners, and thei folowed him aboute  
as he rode; and after he held a Parliament at  
2375 Westmynster and thider come the lordes of  
Scotland accordyng to there othes, and all thei  
helde him for king of Scotland; but sone after  
Robert Brus, erle of Charrike, by assent of the lordes  
of Scotland, was made king of Scotland, for he  
2380 clamed to be heire to Sir John Bailol, and all the  
lande of Scotland therto assented saue sire  
John Comyn, that seide he wolde neuer be false  
to King Edward; wherfor Robert Brus him  
slew in the chirche of the ffreres of Dunfrese and  
2385 he droffe Englyschmen oute of Scotland. And as  
sone as King Edward yt wyste he went into  
Scotland with a riall power and mette with the  
Scottys beside Seint John towne, and the were  
slane vij m+ Scottys, and Robert Brus fled in  
2390 Norwey, and there were taken the bischop  
of Baston, the bischop of Seint Andrewe,  
and the erle Athales, John of Wales, Sir Simon  
Ffriffill, and ij abbottes and many other; and  
thei were lad to London and hanged, saue  
2395 the prelatys, and theme he sent to the pope, armed  
as thei were, he to chastice hem at his wille.

- And after, at Burght vpon Sande in the marche of  
Scotland, King Edward sekened. And he called to  
him his lordes and bad theme that after his  
2400 discese that thei schuld corone Edward of Car-  
narvan, his sone, king, and that thei schulde  
neuer suffre Peres of Gascon, that he hadde  
exiled because of riot that he taught to  
Edward of Carnarvan, to come into Englund.  
2405 And anone after he died in the same place,  
whenne he had regned xxxv yere, and lyeth  
at Westmynster, on whos soule god haue mercy.

### Off Edward the Secunde

- And after him regned his sonne, that was borne  
2410 at Carnarvan. And anone he sent for Peres of  
Gaston contrary to the will of his fader, and  
made him erle of Cornwaile, whereof lordes  
had grete dispite, and by ther labour, he was exiled  
into Ireland. Aut the king loved him so moche  
2415 that himselfe laborerd to the lordes Pat he myght  
come agane, and so he dide, and he was so proud  
that he sette nocht be the lordes, but called them  
churles, and toke the Rounde Table of golde out  
of the kingis tresory and many other jewellys  
2420 that were King Arthuris, and sold hem into Gaston.  
And after, be the procuring of Thomas, erle of  
Lancastre, and th'erle of Warwyke, he was slan  
beside Warwike, and therwith was the king  
full wroth, and suare that he wold be avenged  
2425 of his deth. And in this Edwardis tyme were  
all the Templers distroied in Englund for  
there misbeleve and there lyvelod gyven  
to the Knyghtes of Seint John. And whenne  
Robert Brues, that the firste Edward dreff  
2430 oute of Scotland, herd that there was vari-  
aunce betwene the king and his lordes,

he come into Scotland and distroied moche of the

cuntre of Northumbre; and anone King Edward  
 with grete power went toward him, and mette with  
 2435 him at Bannokesborne, and there was Kinge  
 Edward discomfite and fled to Berwik, and there  
 was slane the goode Erle Gylbert of Glare, Sir  
 Robert Clifford, and many other guode Englyschmen.  
 And thenne made the Scottys ryme and seide:  
 2440 "Maidens of Englonde, sare may ye morne, ffor  
 tynte ye haue your lemmans at Bannokesborne  
 with haelow; what wende the kinge of Englonde  
 for to haue wonne Scotland with Rombelow,"  
 and thenne come the king to London, and after the  
 2445 Scottys wanne Berwyke and all the cuntre of  
 Scotland. And after, ther was a ryball in  
 Englund called John Tanner that seid he was  
 sonne to King Edward the Firste and was born  
 at Carnarvan, and clamed to be king, wherfore  
 2450 he was hanged at Northampton and there he  
 confessed openly that the devell made him to  
 sey so, and promysed him to be king, wherfor  
 he had sirued him iij yere. And after fell  
 suche derthe in Englund that a quarter of  
 2455 whete was at iiij marc wherfor the comyns  
 died faste for hungre, and thei ete dogges and  
 cattes and stale yong childerin and ete hem,  
 and that dured more then iij yere. And after  
 Syre Robert Bruys and the Scottys come into  
 2460 Northumbre and distroied the cuntre, and slew  
 prestis and caste down chirches, wherfore the  
 pope cursed Robert Bruys and enterdited the  
 land of Scotlande. And then went King Edward  
 with grete multitude of people and leid sege to  
 2465 Berwyke, and while he was at the sege the  
 Scottys come into England, and brent townes,

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and dide moche harme; and the Archbischof of York  
 raised all the cuntre, as well men of religion as  
 other, and mett with hem at Milltton vpon Snale,  
 2470 and there were slane many Englyschmen for  
 thei were husbondmen, and couth lytell skill of  
 werre, wherfore many of hem were drouned and  
 slane, and the Archbischof fled to Yorke; and

the Scottys called the batell the White Batell.  
 2475 This Edward wedded Isabell, the kingis doughter  
 of Fraunce, and whenne King Edward herde  
 thereof, he remeved the sege and come agane  
 into Englund; and then was Sir Hught Spencer  
 sonne made chamberleyn, and he keped the  
 2480 kingis chamber so well that no man myght  
 speke with the king, but suche as Sir Hught loved;  
 and so ruled he all the lande, wherfore the lordes  
 of the lande had of him grete dispite, and destroid  
 his castelles in the marche of Wailles, where-  
 2485 fore the king was wroth and exiled Sir John  
 Moubray, Sir Roger Clifford, Sir John Damel, and  
 other of there confedracy; but for all that, other  
 lordes wolde not sese but destroyed all the  
 landes of Sir Hught Spencer, wherfor the king sent  
 2490 for all the lordes to come to his Parliament at  
 London and thidre thei come with iij batelles,  
 well-armed with bendes of grene and yolowe, wher-  
 fore that was called the Parliament of the Bendys.  
 And the king was aferde of hem, and seide thei  
 2495 schuld haue all there desires resonable, and at  
 theire desire, Sir Hught Spencer and his ffader were  
 exiled foreuer and toke the see at Dover; but with-  
 in a while after, the king loved hem so moche  
 that he sent for him agane and recevyd theme  
 2500 agane the wyll of his lordes, wherfore the

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goode Erle Thomas of Lancastr, that was the kingis  
 vncler sone, Humfrey, erle of Hareford, and other lordes  
 and knyghtes that were party to the quarell, assem-  
 blede grete people toward the North, for ther thei  
 2505 hoped moste socour. And there Sir Andrew Arcla,  
 that was keper of the marche vnder the king,  
 mette with him with moche people, and there was the  
 erle Hareforde slane and the goode erle of Lancastre  
 taken, and many other knyghtes slane, and the  
 2510 erle of Lancastr was lad to Pontfrete. And thidre  
 come the king and Sir Hught Spencer and his sone,  
 and bycause yt was tolde the king that he  
 myght not put him to deth but be his peres,  
 wherfore he ordeyned to be his jugges Sir Hught

- 2515 Spencer and his sonne, Sir Haymer of Valence, Sir Edmunde  
of Wodstok, and Sir John Malmethorp, Justice, and  
in the castell of Pontfrete, he was brought be-  
fore them, and Sir John Malmethorp saide theos  
wordes to him: "Thomas, oure lorde the King  
2520 recordeth that thou arte a traitore, and that thou  
hast raiced his people ageyns him, wherfore  
he forbarreth the of any answere, and as a tratore  
hanged schall thou be," and anone, withoute ansuere,  
was he lad oute of the castell, and ther was  
2525 his hede smyten of, for the king pardoned him  
his hangyng and drawing because he was  
so nyght of his blode; and the other lordes  
that were of his affinite were after taken  
and hanged by the labour of Sir Hught Spencer,  
2530 and his sonne, and Master Robert Baldok,  
a pilld clerk that the king was moche ruled  
by. And the king gaffe Spencer and his sonne  
there landes and made Master Robert Baldoke  
Chaunceler of England. And after the king  
2535 wente in to Scotland with c m+ men but the

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- Scottes hid theme and wolde not gyffe theme batell;  
and with a while, many of the kingis people died for  
hungre, so that he was fayne to retourne agane. And  
the Scottys were comen into Northumbre and dide  
2540 moche harme, and the king toke of thoos pat were  
freschest of his oste, to the nombre of xx m+, and mett  
with the Scottes at the abbey of Beland and there  
were the Englischmen discomfite and many slane,  
and the erle of Richmond taken presoner and the  
2545 king fled. And Sire Andrew Arcla, that the king  
had sent to reise the cuntre, like as a fals tratore,  
helde him fro the batell for grete giftes that  
he had receved of the Scottes, wherfore he  
was after hanged at Cardoil and quartered.  
2550 And after God schewed many grete miracles  
for the love of goode Erle Thomas of Lancastre,  
for blinde men were heled of there sight  
that dide pilgremage to him, and many other  
grete miracles there were schewed, wherfore Sir  
2555 Hught Spencer made to schutte the chirche



dores there as he lay so that of iiij yere thei  
 were not opened, and ordeined xx men of armes  
 to kepe the hille ther as he was martired; and  
 after by the labour of Sir Hught Spencer and his  
 2560 fader, the king seased all the landes of Quene  
 Isabell, his wiffe, and of Syre Edward, his sone,  
 and assigned theme xx s a dai for there findyng,  
 whereby thei myght ryght scarsly lyve, and  
 whenne the king of Fraunce, that was Quene  
 2565 Isabell, brother wiste that, he was wroth, and  
 sent word to King Edward that he schulde  
 come to him to Parysch and do his homage for  
 the Duchery of Gion, or ellys he wold sease  
 yt in to his handes, wherefore King Edward  
 2570 was ferde and sent Quene Isabell into  
 Fraunce to trete with here brother. And with  
 here went Sir Haymer of Valence, erle of

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Penbroke, that there was slane in a gonge for  
 vengeance, that he had demed the guode erle of  
 2575 Lancastre to be dede. And anone as the quene was  
 gone, Sire Edward, hire sonne, axed love of his fader for  
 to go into Fraunce to his moder, and he him graunted,  
 and anone as he come to the king of Fraunce, he  
 welcomed him and seid, "Your fader ys ruled be fals  
 2580 traitors and forbecause that he has taken your  
 landes fro you, and also fro my suster, therfore y  
 gyffe you the Duchery of Gion to holde of me by  
 homage as yt hath be of olde tyme holden," and  
 Sire Edwarde him thanked and wente into Gion and  
 2585 seasede the cuntre into his handes, and he him a-  
 lied vnto the erle of Henawde that thenne was the  
 worthieste knyght of Crystendome, and made him  
 to wedde his doughter. And whenne Kinge Edwarde  
 thereof herde, he sent for Quene Isabell and Sire Edwarde  
 2590 to come to him on peyne of here logeaunce, but thei  
 wolde notte, wherefor he drade him moche; and by  
 subtile ymaginacion of Spencer, he ordeinede l m+ ti  
 in a barell and sent yt to the grete lordes of Fraunce  
 to put Quene Isabell and hire sonne to deth, or elles  
 2595 to exile them oute of that lande, and sent this monye  
 with lettres by a marchaunt of London called Arnold Spayne;

but as he was in the see he was taken with  
 Selanders and brought to the erle of Henawde, and when  
 he vnderstode the comittment, he come to Quene  
 2600 Isabell and tolde hire therof, and gaffe hire the l  
 m+ti and bade here wage hire sawdeours and go in-  
 to Englonde to be avengede of the fals traitours Sire  
 Hught Spencer and his sonne, "And ye schall haue  
 Sire John Henawde, my brother, with you, with D men  
 2605 of armes with him." And anone Quene Isabell wagede  
 hire sawedeours and sche and Sire Edwarde, hire sonne,  
 Sire John Henaude, and Sire Edward of Wodstoke, that  
 was brother to Kinge Edwarde and erle of Kente, with  
 grete power come into Englonde and aryved

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2610 "...of the lordes spirituall and temperall, and ar suorne  
 to me to helpe me with theire bodyes and goodes."  
 And whenne that Mortimer vnderstode yt, he  
 was wroth, and schewede yt to Quene Isabell and  
 sche suore that sche schulde be avengede opon him;  
 2615 and anone sche schewede yt vnto hire sonne, the kinge, Pat  
 thenne was at Wynchestre at the Parliament, and praied  
 him on hire blessinge to sende for Sire Edmund and so he  
 dide; and Sir Edmund come thidre and or he spake with the  
 kinge, he was arestede and brought to the barre byfore  
 2620 Sire Robert Hamond and Sire Roger Mortimer, and there this  
 lettre was schewed him and Mortimer axede of him  
 whedre yt was his lettre and seale, and he said ye, where-  
 fore thei awardedede that he schulde be dede and anon  
 he was ladde withoute the toune, and a gonge fermoure  
 2625 smote of his hede or the kinge wiste; and whenne  
 he wiste he was full sory for hee hadde thought to  
 haue pardoned him. And after yt was tolde the king  
 by Sir William Mountagne and other how that Morty-  
 mer hadd made to flee Sir Edward of Carnarvan,  
 2630 and how he lete the Scottes escape in Staunop Parke,  
 and of many iniuries that he had done to the king  
 and the lande, wherefore the king commaunded Pat thei  
 schulde go take him. And that tyme the king and  
 his moder and Mortimer were in the castell of  
 2635 Notyngham, and this William Mountagne and  
 other come prevely on a nyght and toke Mortimer

in the quenes chambir and Sir Hught of Tippilton,  
a knyght that was with Mortimer, faught with hem  
at the chamber dore and was slane, and Mortimer  
2640 was taken and led to the Towre of London and  
there was he hanged and quarterd. And after  
John Bailol, that was king of Scotland, fled oute  
of Scotlande into Fraunce, and lefte his lande  
for he wolde not displese Edward the Firste, but

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2645 helde him in Fraunce there as he was born; and there  
he had isshu and died. And this Edward vnderstode  
that he was heire to be king of Scotland and  
come into Englund to Sir Harry Bewmond, his cosyn,  
that was erle of Angus. And Sir Harry axed leve  
2650 of the king that Sire Edward Bailol myght go  
save thourought Englund into Scotland, and that he  
myght wage men of Englund to help him, and  
so were that he conquered the land of Scotland,  
he wolde holde yt of King Edward by homage, lyke  
2655 as yt was byfore. And vpon that condicon, the king  
gaffe him leve, and anone he waged Englyschmen  
with him to go, to the nombr of iij m+ men, and he went in-  
to Scotland and there had he ij grete batelle, oon  
with the erle of Fiffe, another with Robert Bruys  
2660 and other lordes of Scotland, but Bailol had  
the better at both batellys and was crouned  
king of Scotland. And after King Edward of  
Englond helde his Parliament at New Castell vpon  
Tyne and thidre come Sire Edward Bailol and  
2665 dide his homage wherfore the Scottys were full  
wroth with him, and whenne he come into Scotland  
agane, there come a felaschip of Scottes vpon him  
on a nyght, him to haue slane, but as grace was,  
he fled thorow a wall and scaped fro hem, and  
2670 went to Cardoil and there held him. And sent  
worde to King Edward of Englund to help him  
agane his tratores and anone King Edward of  
Englund with grete power went to him, and thei  
both come and leid sege to Berwike, and as thei  
2675 lei at the sege, ther come down vpon hem all  
the chevalry of Scotland, that ys to sey lxv erles  
and barones, c xl knyghtes, ij m+ men of armes,

lx m+ of comyners, and at Haldoune Hille, beside Berwike, the oostes mette, and King Edward

20va

- 2680 and Bailol hadde the felde, for the Scottes  
had no more foisone that dai agane Englyschmen  
thenne haue xx schepe agane v wolfes, for there  
were slane but vij englyschmen, and ther was  
slane of the Scottys xxxv m+ and vij c. And then  
2685 thei of Berwike dide yelde vp the town to King  
Edward and he toke his leve at Bailol and went  
home into Englund, and this batell was in the  
vj yere of King Edward the Thirde and in the  
yere of oure lorde Ihesu Cryste m+ ccc xxxij. And  
2690 after in the xij yere of his regne, he went into  
Braban and there he duelled halfe a yere to trete  
with the duke of Braban for his title of Fraunce,  
for he clamed to be king of Fraunce after the  
deth of Karoll, the grete king of Fraunce that  
2695 was brother to Quene Isabell, moder to King  
Edward, forasmoche as Karole died withoute  
issu; and Philip of Wailles, that was vncler  
sonne to the seide Karoll, wrongfully helde him  
therefro; but the duke of Braban and he couth not  
2700 acorde, wherefore King Edward come home a-  
gane into Englund and somond a parliament at  
London, and there he axed grete taxes of the co-  
myns to helpe him in his werre of Fraunce,  
that ys to say the v parte of ther meueable  
2705 goddes, and the wolles of Englund of oon yere  
growyng, and the ix schefe of euery grane, and  
that euery lorde of euery toune schulde ansuere  
him therfore, and all was graunted, wher-  
for the grete love that he had of the comyns  
2710 before tyme was torned into hate. And then  
went he with grete power into Fraunce and  
aryved at Scluse, and there Philip of Wailles  
mette with him in the haven with grete people,

20vb

but the Frenschmen were discomfite, and xxx

2715 m+ of hem slane and many schippes taken; and  
 thenne went the Englyschmen vppon lande and  
 went to the toune of Seint Hamound and leide  
 sege thereto and there abode tell wynter. And  
 thenne sent he into Englund for money but his  
 2720 messengers deceived him, wherefore he was faine  
 to take a trefy with the Frensche king; and come a-  
 gane in to Englund and made Edward, his eldest  
 sonne, prince of Wailles, and after in the xxj yere  
 of his regne he went into Fraunce with a grete ooste  
 2725 of xiiij m+ men, and he aryved at Hogges in  
 Normandy and went furth brennyng and  
 destroyng the cuntre. And whenne he come to  
 Briggis of Cadomy he hadde a grete batell and had  
 the felde and toke vij c presoners, and went furth  
 2730 and passed the water of Seyne and also the water  
 of Some, and a lytell beside Cressy he mette  
 with the Frensche king and his ooste, and with the  
 Frensche king come the king of Beame, the  
 duke of Loreyn, and the erle of Fflaunders, and  
 2735 thei were nombred of the Frensche party a  
 c m+, but the vaward fill vpon hem and  
 slow ij m+ of theme and the remanent fledde.  
 And thenne come king Edward to Caleys and  
 leide sege thereto, and while he was at sege, Daudid  
 2740 Brus, king of Scotland, supposing that ther had  
 ben but smale stuffe of men lefte in Englund,  
 and come into the north cuntre to Nevell Crosse  
 with all the chevalrey of Scotland and destroyed  
 the cuntre as he come; but th'Archbischof of Yorke  
 2745 raised the cuntre, all well men of religion as  
 other, and mette with him Durhame and toke him  
 prisoner and many other lordes of Scotland

#### 21ra

also, and discomfite the Scottes and broght Daudid  
 Brus and the tother lordes to the Toure of London  
 2750 to abyde the kinges comyng. And after his raunson  
 was sette to a c m+ marc to be paied in x yere,  
 but he died or yt was all paied and lyeth at  
 the priory of Bewvale in Notinghamshire.  
 And after thei of Cales yeld vp the toune  
 2755 and come byfore the kyng in their shertes,

with ropes aboute there nekkes, and axed him mercy and  
 he toke hem all to grace, and come home into Englonde.  
 And after, in the xxiiij yere of his regne, fill suche  
 a pestilence in this lande that vnneth the x man was  
 2760 lefte on lyve. And men that fled for the pestilence  
 died be the way as thei went, wherfore yt was  
 seide that tyme in this lande that ther was  
 “ffleying withoute socour, deth without sorowe,  
 weddyng withoute love,” and that deth lasted a  
 2765 yere. And in the yere afore was the gretest  
 deth at Rome and thorought oute the world that  
 euer was seyn byfore. And after, in the xxviiij yere  
 of his regne, Harry, erle of Lancastre, was made duke  
 of Lancastre, and sone after yt was certefied the  
 2770 king how that Philip of Wailles, the Frensche king,  
 was dede, and that John, his sonne, was corowned  
 king of Fraunce, and that this John had geven  
 Karoll, his sonne, the Duchery of Guyon, wherfore  
 King Edward was wrothe and ordeined that  
 2775 Prince Edward, his sone, shulde go into Guyen to  
 kepe yt. And himselfe went into Fraunce with a  
 grete ooste toward the Frensche king, for the Frensche  
 king sent him worde that he wolde abyde him  
 at the toun of Odomar and there gyffe him  
 2780 batell; but as sone as he herde of the comyng of  
 King Edward, he fledde away as a cowarde

21rb

wherfore King Edward come home agane. And  
 in meanetyme, the Scottes hadde taken the toun  
 of Berwyke be a trayn but the Castell was kept  
 2785 fro hem, and anone King Edward wente to  
 Berwike and droffe away the Scottes; and Sir John  
 Bailoll, that thenne was king of Scottes, gaffe  
 vp the realme of Scotlande, at Rokesburght, to  
 King Edward, and there was he corowned  
 2790 king of Scotlande, and thenne retourened into  
 Englonde with moche worshipp. And then wente  
 Prince Edward into Guyen with a grete ooste and  
 come to Burdeux, and fro thens he went into Fraunce  
 to werre vpon King John for the title of  
 2795 Englonde. And beside Peiters he mette with  
 King John of Fraunce with a grete ooste, and there,

in plane batell, he toke King John of Fraunce  
 and Philipp his sonne and many grete lordes  
 of Fraunce, and discomfite the remanent of hem  
 2800 and come agane to Burdeux. And fro thens he  
 come agane into Englund and brought with him  
 King John and his sone to Westmynster, to King  
 Edward. This King Edward had issu v sonnes,  
 that ys to say the foresaide Edward, prince of  
 2805 Wailles, Sir Lyonell, Sir John of Gaunte, Sir Edmund  
 of Langley, and Sir Thomas of Wodstoke; and  
 after, in the xxxiiij of his regne, the saide Sir  
 John of Gaunt, erle of Richemond, wedded  
 Dame Blanche, doughter and heire to Harry  
 2810 duke of Lancastr. And after King Edward went  
 into Fraunce and leide sege to Parysch and thenne,  
 by the labour of the lordes of Fraunce was a treti  
 taken for a small pees betwene the ij kinges,  
 and the lordes of Ffraunce suore to abyde suche  
 2815 apoyntement as were spoken of betwene hem.

21va

Wherefore King Edward come agane into Englund,  
 and toke with him King John and Philipp, his sone,  
 to Caley, and there mette with the lordes of Fraunce,  
 and there was a smal pese made and both the  
 2820 kinges suorn on the sacrament to kepe yt, and  
 so were there sonnes and many other grete lordes  
 of both parties suorn to the same. And anone after  
 the devell appered in many places of Fraunce  
 and berafte many men there wyttes, for he hadde  
 2825 dispite of that small acorde, and in the same yere  
 died Harry duke of Lancastre, and Prince Edward  
 wedded the Countes of Kent, that was wife of  
 Sir Thomas Holand, and in the yere after was  
 Sir John of Gaunt made duke of Lancastre, be  
 2830 reason of his wiffe, and Sir Lyonell was made  
 duke of Clarence, and Sir Edmund, his brother,  
 erle of Cambrige, and thenne was Prince Edward  
 made duke of Guyen, and went thidre to kepe yt.  
 And at the making of pese, King John of Fraunce  
 2835 lefte a c men in plegge for hes raunson, that



was sette at a million of golde,<sup>5</sup> and these  
 plegges hadd gentill kepers and on a nyght  
 thei stale away euerychon; and whenne King  
 John of Fraunce wiste thereof he come agane  
 2840 into Englund and yelde himselfe presoner to  
 King Edward as a trew knyght. And after  
 he died in Savoie beside London and fro thens  
 he was ledde into Fraunce and lyeth at Seint  
 Denyse. And after Prince Edward had a sonne  
 2845 that was called Edward that afterward  
 died whenne he was vij yere age; and  
 after he hadde isshu another sonne at Burdeux  
 that was called Richard of Burdeux, and in  
 the xl yere of the regne of King Edward, yt  
 2850 was ordeined that the peter pennies that

21vb

were paide to Rome, by graunte of King Iva of  
 Westsex, for to haue scoles in Englund, schuld no  
 lenger be paide; and in the same yere fill the  
 grettest pestilence that euer was sen in this lande.  
 2855 And after Pers, King of Spayne, was put oute of  
 his kingdome by the Bastard of Spayne; and this  
 Pers come and besought Prince Edward to helpe  
 him and Prince Edward agreed thereto, and went  
 with him into Spayne and there mette with the  
 2860 Bastard, that had with him a c m+ men; and Prince  
 Edward had with him xij m+ of Englyschmen  
 and Gascoynes, and his brother, Sir John of Gaunt,  
 was with him, and thei discomfit the Bastard  
 and made Pers king as was before, and then  
 2865 seide the Spaynards, "Gloriosius est regem sacere  
 quam regem esse," and thenne retourned hem to Guyen  
 in the xlij yere of King Edward. And the same yere  
 Sir Lyonell, his brother, wedded the duke doughter of  
 Millen, and in the yere after, the Frenschmen brake  
 2870 the truse, wherfore Sir Robert Knolles, a guode knyght, was  
 sente thidre with viij m+ men and there he abode longe, and  
 dide many worschipfull actes; and after John,  
 duke of Lancastr, and the erle of Cambrygge wedded  
 ij doughters of the seide Pers that was king of Spayn.

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<sup>5</sup> 3,000,000 gold crowns. Vickers (1926:206).

- 2875 This King Edward made vp Seint Stephen Chepell  
at Westmynster and endewed yt with lyvelode, and  
he founded the abbey of Toure Hell, and the freres  
of Langley, and the ffrute of the Knyghtes of the  
Garter at Wyndesore, and Seint Georges feste. And  
2880 in the xlvij yere of his regne there was a trefy taken  
betwene the pope and him at Burdeux for certen  
permisiones of benefices of this lande, and there  
thei accorded that the pope schulde not vse no  
manner of resiruciones of benefices in Englonde,  
2885 and that the pope schulde haue his peter pennies  
he hed before. And the yere after died the guode

22ra

- prince Edward, the worthiest knyght of the world,  
and lyeth at Caunterbury faste be Seint Thomas.  
And thenne Richard of Burdeux, his sone, was  
2890 made prince of Wailles, duke of Cornwaile, and  
erle of Chestre, and whenne King Edward hadde  
regnd lij yere he died at Shene, and lyeth at  
Westmynster.

**Off King Richard the ij**

- 2895 And after him regned Richard of Burdeux, Pat was  
Prince Edward sone, and was corouned king when  
he was xj yere of age. And Sir Roger Mortimer, erle  
of Marche, that was Sir Lyonell doughter sone, was  
borne vpon the erle of Northumbre schulder and  
2900 offered next King Richard as heire apparant at  
the seide coronacon. And after in the iij yere of  
his regne, at a Parliament holden at Wynchestre,  
was ordeined that euery man, woman, and childe of  
the age of xiiij yere schulde paie iiij d to the king,  
2905 whiche caused the rying of Kent, for anone  
after, the comens of Kent and Essex rose and made  
theme a capteyne that was called Jakke Strawe,  
and thei come to Southwerk upon Corpus Christi Dai  
and lete oute all the prisoners of the kingis benche  
2910 and of the marschalsy and thei slew all the  
alienes that thei fonde in the citee; and on the  
morow after thei come to the Toure of London ther-  
as King Richard lay and the king sent to them

the Archbischoff of Caunterbury, Sir Symon Sudlery,  
 2915 Sir Robert Hailez, prior of Seint Johnz, and a white  
 ffrere that was confessor to the king, to wytte of  
 hem what thei wolde; and anone vpon the Toure  
 Hill thei smyten of there hedes alle iij. And  
 thenne thei went to all the Innes of Court and  
 2920 brenned all the bokes of lawe, and thei brent  
 the Savoye that was the duke of Lancastre  
 place, and lete oute the presoners of Newgate,

22rb

Ludgate, and the countres, and on the morowe  
 thei mette with the king in Smythfelde, to trete with  
 2925 him and William Walworth that thenne was  
 Maire of London, bycause that Jakke Strawe wolde  
 not do of his hooode to the king, slew him with a  
 daggar, and Sir Rauff Standisshe smote of his  
 hede, and helde yt vpon a point of a suerde; and  
 2930 anone all the harlottes fledde. And thenne the king  
 made Walworth knyght and vj other men of  
 London that chased the rebawdes away, and after  
 many of hem were taken and hanged, and that  
 was called the hurvyng tyme. And in the  
 2935 v yere of his regne was a grete erdequaue  
 toroght all the world. And after, in the same yere,  
 Sir Harry Spencer, Bischopp of Norwyche, and a  
 knyght went into Flaunders and had a grete  
 batell at Donkirke and discomfite the Flemynghes,  
 2940 and thenne thei leide sege to Ipper but thei  
 couth notte gete yt, and therfore thei come a-  
 gane in to Englund. And in the vj yere of his  
 regne, he wedded Anne, doughter to the emperour of  
 Almayn, at Westmynster. And in the ix yere of his  
 2945 regne, he helde a Parliament at Westmynster and  
 there, Sir Edmund of Langley, erle of Cambrigge, and vncle  
 to the king, was made duke of Yorke, and his other  
 vncle, Sir Thomas of Wodstoke, that was erle of  
 Bukingham, was made duke of Gloucestr, and Sir  
 2950 Robert le Vere, that was erle of Oxenford, was  
 made Marques of Develyn, and Harry of Bolling-  
 broke, the Dukis sone of Lancastre, was made erle  
 of Derby, and Sir Edward, that was the erle of Kentis  
 brother, was made erle of Huntingdon, and Sir

2955 Thomas Mowbray, erle of Notingham, was made  
Marshall of Englonde, and Sir Michael of Poole,  
knyght, was made erle of Southffolk and Chaunceler  
of Englonde. And at the same Parliament the erle

22va

of Marche was proclaimed heire apparant to King Richard,  
2960 and after the same erle of Marche went into  
Ireland to se his erledome of Vlstre and there was  
he slayne with wilde Ireschmen. And after ther  
were v lordes, that ys to sey, Sir Thomas of Wodstok,  
duke of Gloucestre, Sir Richard, Erle of Arundell, Sir  
2965 Richard, erle of Warwyk, Sir Harry of Bollyngbroke,  
erle of Derby, and Sir Thomas Mowbray, erle of  
Notingham, and thei were of oon assent and of  
oon affinite, and proposed to haue the rule of the  
king and the realme and to put away suche  
2970 persones as the king was ruled by and gadered  
to theme grete people, wherefore certeyn persons  
that was grete of the kingis conseil, that ys to  
sei Sire Alexandr Nevill, Archebischopp of  
Yorke, Sir Robert Vere, Marques of Develyn,  
2975 and erle of Oxenford, and Michael of Poole,  
erle of Southffolk and Chaunceler of Englonde,  
fledde upon the see and come neuer agane. And  
thenne thees v lordes made a Parliament at  
Westmynster and at that Parliament Sir Robert  
2980 Trevilian, Chief Justice, Sir Nicole Brunbre, knyght and  
citezein of London, Sir John Salysbury, knyght, and  
other, were ateint of treson and hanged; and Sir  
Simon of Berkeley, Sir John Beauchamp, Stuard  
of the kinges house, and Sir John Berners, were  
2985 jugged to be dede at that same Parliament, and  
there heddes were smyten of at the Toure Hill.  
And Quene Anne kneled on here knees to the duke  
of Gloucestr and praied him that Sir Simon of  
Berkley myght be taken to grace, but he wolde  
2990 notte in no wise. And after that Parliament  
thei made ryal justinges and torneamentes as  
euer was seen in this lande, for the king and  
his xxiiij Knyghtes of the Garter toke the  
toon side agane all that wolde come,

2995 and thidre come the erle of Seint Poules and the  
 dukes sone of Holand and many other knyghtes  
 of strange landes; and whenne the king and his  
 xxiiij knyghtes schulde come in to the felde, xxiiij  
 ladies lad theme, that ys to sey, euery lady ladde a  
 3000 knyght with a cheyne of golde, fro the Toure to Smyth  
 feld, torought London, on horsebakke. And whenne  
 all was done the straungers hadde grete rewardes  
 and went home. And after in the xiiij yere of his  
 regne, Sir John of Gaunt, duke of Lancastre, went upon  
 3005 the see into Spayne, for he clamed to be king of  
 Spayne by his wiffe, and his wiffe went with him,  
 and his iij doughters with a grete ooste, and the king  
 of Spayne schulde wedde the seide duke of Lancastre  
 doughter, and also that he schulde giffe to the seide  
 3010 duke a grete summe of money and euery yere duryng  
 the lyffe of the saide duke x m+ marcs to be paide at  
 Baren. And after the same duke married another  
 doughter to the king of Portiugale and thenne come  
 he and his wiffe home agane into Englonde. And  
 3015 after, in the xv yere of his regne, there was a man  
 of the Bischopp of Salysbury called Romen, and he  
 smote a baker in Fletestrete, and the strete rose vpon  
 him and droffe him into the Bishopp place of Salysbury  
 and the Bischoppes men schette the gates and wolde  
 3020 notte lette hem come in. And anone the Maire come  
 thidre and made the comyns of the toun to go home,  
 and the Bischopp compleyned maliciously to the  
 king of this mater, wherfore the king discharged  
 the Maire and the Sheryffs of their offys and made  
 3025 a knyght of his Keper of the Citee. And after he  
 remeved all his courtes to Yorke and helde them  
 there halfe a yere and then he brought his courtts  
 ageyne to Westmynster. And thei of the citee of  
 London gaffe the king xx m+ ti to graunte them  
 3030 the ffraunchises that he hadde taken fro hem.  
 And after in the xvij yere of his regne Quene

Anne died at Shene and lyeth at Westmynster. And  
 this King Richard made Westmynster Halle the ijnd tyme.  
 And after, in the xx yere of his regne, he wedded  
 3035 Isabell, doughter to the king of Fraunce, at Caleis,  
 the saide Isabell thenne beyng of the age of ix yere;  
 and brought here into Englund and coroned here  
 quene at Westmynster. And the xv day of August  
 3040 nexte folowyng, for wrath that the king hadde to the  
 duke of Gloucestre, the king himselfe rode to Plasshe. There  
 the saide duke of Gloucestre lay, and arested him. And  
 thenne the duches kneled afore the king and besought  
 him that hire housbande myght haue his grace and  
 the king seide to here, "Dame, suche grace as your housband  
 3045 graunted to Quene Anne, whenne sche knelyd to him  
 on hire knees for Sir Simon of Berkeley, hire Chambleyn,  
 suche grace schall he haue and none other." And then  
 the king ledde him to the castell of Ledys and fro thens  
 he sent him to Caleis, and anone after, he sent worde  
 3050 to his kepers to put him to dethe. And thenne the king  
 somond a Parliament at London and sent for all his  
 lordes, and for knyghtes, and esquiers, and especyally  
 for men of Chesshire to strenght him agane his  
 enmyes, and anone he arested the erle of Warwike,  
 3055 the erle of Arundell, Sir John Cobhame, and Sir John  
 Cheyne, and at that same Parliament thei were all  
 iiij demed to be dede; and the erle of Arundell was  
 lade to the Toure Hell, to the place that Sir Simon of  
 Berkeley was slayne in, and there was his hede smyten  
 3060 of and the ffreres Austeyne toke his body and  
 beried it in here quere; and the erle of Warwyke and  
 the other ij knyghtes were put in perpetuall presone.  
 And atte this Parliament the king made v dukes,  
 a duches, a marques, and iiij erles, that is to sey, the  
 3065 erle of Derby was make duke of Hereford, and th'erle  
 of Rotelande was duke of Awmerle, the erle of  
 Kent was made duke of Surrey, th'erle of Hunty-  
 ngdone was duke of Exetir, and Sir Thomas  
 Mowbrey, erle of Notyngham, Marschall of  
 3070 Englonde, was made duke of Northffolke, and th'erle  
 of Somerset was made marques of Dorset, and the

lorde Spencer was made erle of Gloucestre, and the  
 lorde Nevyle of Reby was made erle of Westmerland,  
 and Sir Thomas Percy was made erle of Worcestre,  
 3075 and Sir William Scrop was made erle of Wylschire,  
 and Sir John Montagne was made erle of Salysbury.  
 And anone the duke of Hereford apeled the duke  
 of Northffolke of treson and thei youed batell and a  
 day sette at Coventre and thidre come the king,  
 3080 and whenne the ij lordes were in the felde to do  
 there armes, the king toke there mater into his  
 hande; and anone he exiled the Bischop Arundell,  
 that was Archebischop of Caunterbury, foreuer, and  
 thei toke the see at diuers portes, and the duke of  
 3085 Northffolke went into Veynys, and there he died. And  
 in the yere after died Sir John of Gaunt, duke of  
 Lancastre and Laycestre, and was caried to Powles  
 at London and there he lyeth by Dame Blanche,  
 his wiffe, that was doughter to Harry, erle of  
 3090 Lancastre, and his heire. And after King Richard  
 purposed to go into Irelande and drade him of  
 treson in his absence wherefore he made blanke  
 charteres, and made as well spirituel men as laymen,  
 that ys to sey, lordes, knyghtes, and esquiers to  
 3095 seel them, and wryte there names by the  
 seales; and thenne he went into Irelande with a  
 grete ooste and made the duke of Yorke his  
 Lyeutenaunt of Englund, and while he was in  
 Ireland, the erle of Derby that was made duke  
 3100 of Hereford come to Caleys and there he mette  
 with Arundell the Archbischop, that was exiled,  
 and with him, the erle sone of Arundell and his heire,  
 the whiche was warded in the castell of Regate,  
 and stale away and come to Caleys. And thei went  
 3105 all into a schippe with here meyne and sayled  
 northward and landed at Ravensporn besyde  
 Brydlington in Yorkeschire, and seide he come  
 to clame the duchery of Lancastre after the deth of  
 his fader Sir John of Gaunt. And the people of  
 3110 the cuntre come faste vnto him and welcomed  
 him, and thenne he went to Pontfrete When  
 Bussy Scropp and Grene, that were knyghtes



of the kinges counseill, herde that he was comen,  
 thei fledde into the Castell of Brystowe and there  
 3115 come the duke Harry and toke hem oute and  
 smote of there hedes. And thenne he wente to  
 Lodlowe to herkyn of King Richard comyng, and  
 King Richard was al the tyme in Irelande, and  
 there he made Harry, sone to the seide Duke Harry,  
 3120 knyght, and he herde of the comyng of Duke Harry;  
 and anone he come into Walles, to the castell  
 of Flynte with a few meyne, for his men fled  
 fro him for fere of Duke Harry, and many of hem  
 come to Duke Harry. Aand anone Duke Harry come  
 3125 thidre, and the erle of Northumbirlande and Sir Harry  
 Percy with him, and thei come vnder saue condite  
 to trete with the king. And thei promysed him that  
 and he wolde be ruled by theme he schulde  
 not be put fro his regaly, and thenne thei broght  
 3130 him to London and put him into the Toure, and  
 thei went and toke there counseil togeder and  
 suche as were of the counseil of Duke Harry told  
 him that he schuld neuer haue reste in this land  
 but yf he were king. And thenne went diuers  
 3135 lordes to the Toure, to King Richard, and told  
 him how the lordes seide and the comyns de-  
 sired to haue Duke Harry king. "Thenne," ansuerd  
 he and seide, "Yf yt be there wille so to do, I agre  
 therto, vpon thes condicions, that Y may haue x  
 3140 m+ ti yerly, and be vnder the governauns of a lorde,  
 and haue my dettys paide; and whenne Y am  
 dede, to be beryed by Quene Anne, my wyffe; and  
 yf Duke Harry and Arundell the Archbisshop will  
 be suorn on a boke to performe these condicions,  
 3145 Y wyll resigne the corone to him." And on the  
 morne thei were suorn byfore King Richard  
 in the toure to performe thes condicions, and then  
 Duke Harry and all the lordes gaffe vp ther homage  
 to King Richard; but Sir Harry Percy wold not,  
 3150 nor he wold neuer assent that Duke Harry schuld  
 be king, but he departed in wrath fro him and went  
 into the north cuntre. And on Mychelmasse  
 even, King Richard, in the xxij yere of his regne, gaf  
 vp the corone to Duke Harry, and then was

3155 called Richard of Burdeux.

23vb

**Off King Harry the iiij th**

And on Seint Edwardes dai the Confessoure next after, Harry  
duke of Hertford and of Lancastre, was coroned king at  
Westmynster by the auctorite of a Parliament that then  
3160 was holden at Westmynster, and at that same Parly-  
ament the duke of Surrey was degraded of his duchery  
and made erle of Kent, and the duke of Exestr degraded  
and made erle of Huntyngdone, and the erle of Gloucestre  
degraded and made Lorde Spencer agane as thei  
3165 were before, and Harry, the eldest sone of the king, was  
made prince of Wailles, duke of Cornwaile, and erle  
of Chestre, and Arundell was made Archebischof of  
Caunterbury ageyne, and Sir Roger Walden degraded, bat  
was archbischof, and made Bischof of London, and the  
3170 erle of Arundell sone, that come with the king fro Caleis,  
was made erle of Arundell. And after the king helde  
his Crystmasse at Wyndesore, and on the xij even come  
the duke of Awmerle to the king and tolde him that  
the dukes of Surrey and Excestr that were degraded,  
3175 and th'erle of Salysbury, the of Gloucestre, and other of  
there affinite were accorded to make a momyng to  
the king on the xij day, and in there revell to sle the  
king. And the same nyght the king come to London to  
gete him helpe to destroie thes lordes, and anone as  
3180 thei wyste that theire conseil was discourd, thei fled  
awai; and the duke of Surrey and th'erle of Salysbury  
and Sir Raufe of Lameley fled to Chechestre, and thei  
of the tounne toke hem and smote of there hedes and  
brought hem to London to the king, and thei were sette  
3185 on London Brygge. And many knyghtes and squiers that  
were of theire affinite were taken and there hedes  
smyten of, and the erle of Huntyngdon was taken and  
his hede smyten of and sette on London Brygge, and  
the Lorde Spencer that was erle of Gloucestre was taken  
3190 at Bristowe and his hede smyten of and sette on  
London Brygge, and many a guode knyght and squier  
were serued on the same wise. And anone after, the  
king sent Quene Isabell into Fraunce to hire  
fader, and toke from here hire dury, and that was full

3195 grete pete. And after that King Richard had thus resigned,  
he was ladde to the castell of Pontfrete, and there he  
died for hungryr and was beryed at Langley, and  
there abode his body vnto the tyme that King Harry  
the vth toke him vp and beryed him at Westmynster

24ra

3200 beside Quene Anne, fast beside Seint Edward schryne.  
And after, King Harry went into Scotland with a grete  
people and wanne many tounes; and he went to  
Edinburght and leide sege thereto and as he was at the  
sege worde come to him that Ewen of Glendore was  
3205 risen in Wailles, wherefore the king come agane in-  
to Englonde, and lefte the sege. And anone after, in the  
same yere, Sir Harry Percy hadd a grete batell with the  
Scottys at Humbildon Hille and there the Scottes were  
discomfite, and th'erle Douglas and th'erle of Fiffe wer  
3210 taken presoners, and many of the Scottes slane; and this  
Ewen of Glendore toke the lorde Gray of Rythin pri-  
soner and raunsond him to x m+ ti. And in the third yere  
of his regne, Sir Roger of Claryngton, knyght, v freres  
minores, the prior of launde, and diuers doctores of diuinite  
3215 had there hedes smyten of for certeyn tresonnes pat thei  
ymagined; and after Ewen toke sire Roger Mortymer  
that was brother to th'erle of Marche presoner, at the batell  
of Pill Aleyne in Milleneth, and slew a m+ of his men,  
and there were slane m+ Walschemen. And Ewen put  
3220 him in chose of iij thinges, that is to sey, to wedde Ewen-  
is doughter, or to pay him xx ti, or to haue his hede  
smyten of, and he chase to wedde his doughter. And that  
tyme was seen the blasing sterre that clerkes callede  
stella cornata, and in the yere after, Sir John Massy  
3225 of Tacton suore on Goddes body, before Sir Harry Percy  
and many other in Chesshire, that King Richard was  
on lyve in Scotland, wherefore Sir Harry Percy gadred  
moche people of Chestirschire and other and come  
toward the king; and anone the king gaderd people and  
3230 mette with him beside Shrewsbury, and in the bulfelde,  
vnder a lytell toun called Berwike, was Sir Harry  
Percy slayne, and Sir Thomas his brother fledde and  
after he was taken and his hedde smyten of; and  
th'erle Douglas was there with Sire Harry Percy, and was  
3235 taken and brought to the king. And at that batell

were slayne on both parties ij m+ ij c, and there was  
slane th'erle of Stafforde that come with the king,  
and on both parties were slayne ix knyghtes, and  
th'erle of Northumbre fledde into the north cuntre  
3240 and kept the castell of Bamburght, and thidre  
come the king and th'erle yelde him to his grace.

24rb

And after, at the Perliament of Coventre, the erle was restored  
to his landes, and in the same yere the emperour Constantine  
Noble come to se this lande and taried in this lande  
3245 halfe a yere on the kinges coste. And afterward the Baron  
of Graystok and other were taken in the castelle of  
Berwyke and there hedys smyten of, and in the yere  
folowyng, Dame Johane Inches of Bretane, was wedded  
to the king at Wynchester and was coroned at West-  
3250 mynster, and the same yere, Dame Blanche, the kinges  
doughter, was wedded to the dukes sonne of Beer  
at Coleyne. And in the vj yere of his regne, Sir Richarde  
Scrop, Archbisshop of Yorke, the erle Marschall, and Sir  
Thomas Plimpton gaderd people in the north cuntre,  
3255 and anone the king come thidre, and or he come thei  
were taken and brought to him, and anone he lette a  
jugge sytte vpon hem and thei were all iij dampned to  
deth and theire hedes smyten of. And anone after, the  
king was smyten with the sekenesse of lepre and  
3260 kouth neuer be hole therof, and after, God schewed many  
myracles for the saide Bischop Scrop. And in the yere after  
Sir Edmond Holand, erle of Kent, wedded Lucy, suster to  
the duke of Millen, and in the same yere, Philipa, the  
yonger doughter of the king, was wedded to the king  
3265 of Denmark and of Norway, atte London in Denmark.  
And the viij yere of the regne of the seide King Harry,  
th'erle of Northumberlande and the lorde Bardolf come  
with moche people oute of Scotlande into the north cuntrey  
for to destroie the king, but the cuntre rose vpon hem and  
3270 toke them beside Wetherby, and smyte of there hedys and  
sent them to the king. And in the yere folowyng, the kinges  
sonnes were made dukes, that ys to sey, Thomas was  
made duke Clarence, John was made duke of Gloucestre,  
and Sir Thomas Beauforde was made erle of Dorsett, and  
3275 the duke of Awmerle was made duke of Yorke. And thenne the  
king proposed to go to Jerusalem therefor to dye, for yt was

prophecyed of him that he schulde dye in Jerusalem. And  
 then he was at Westmynster, and felte himselfe  
 seke that he myght not ryse, and asked how that thei  
 3280 called that chamber that he lay in and thei saide  
 Jerusalin. "For soth," seide he, "here must y dye." And so  
 he dide anone after, in the xiiij yere of his regne,  
 and lyeth beside Seint Thomas schryne at  
 Crysteschurche in Caunterbury.

24va

3285 **Off King Harry the ffifte**

And after him regned Harry, his sone, that was  
 borne at Monmouth in Wailles; and in the fyrste  
 yere of his regne was an assemble of lordes be-  
 syde seint Johans, and as thei were in gadering,  
 3290 thei were taken and brought to the king, and  
 after thei were all brent, for thei were alle  
 proposed to haue destroyed the king; and the clergy  
 and Sir Roger was of there affinite and therfore  
 was he hanged. And the nexte yere after he  
 3295 sent embassitores to the Frensche dolphyn, that  
 he wolde yelde him his inheretaunce of Nor-  
 mandy and Guyen or els he wolde conquere yt  
 with dente of swerde, with the grace of God, and  
 he sent him worde agane that yt become him  
 3300 better to pley at the tonnes, wherfore he sent  
 him a tonne of tennes balles to pley with;  
 and the king was greved therewith, and by the  
 advyse of his lordes spiritual and temperall, he  
 went with a grete army to Southampton and  
 3305 there th'erle of Cambrige, that was brother to the  
 duke of Yorke, the lorde Scrop, Tresorer of England,  
 and Sir Thomas Grey, knyght, had there hedes smyte  
 of, for thei had recevyd xx m+ ti of the Frensche  
 men for to sle the king and his brethern, as  
 3310 yt was openly preved. And thenne he went  
 to schipp with his lordes and retene and ary-  
 ved at Kidcaws in Normandy in the even  
 of the Assumpcion of Oure Lady, in the iij yere  
 of his regne, with a full ryall ordinaunce,  
 3315 and many grete gones and gonne stones,  
 for he thought to pley at the tennes with the

dolphyn. And fro thens he went to Harflew  
 and leide sege therto, and smote down the  
 toures and walles with his gonnes, that  
 3320 thei were fayne to yelde vp the toune, and  
 the king made his vncle erle of Dorsette  
 capteyne therof and bade him put oute  
 all the Frensche people of the toune, both  
 men, women, and childerin. And he lette  
 3325 crye in Englonde that what man or  
 woman wolde come dwell there, thei  
 schulde haue competent howsyng

24vb

and pay nothing therfore, and thidre come many Englysch  
 folke and inhabite the toune; and thenne passed the king  
 3330 furth toward Parysch, and in the felde of Agincourt was  
 all the chevalry of Fraunce assembled. And the duke of  
 Yorke was in the vaward of the Englyschemen, and he  
 made euery archer to haue a sharpe stake afore him, for  
 ther was of the Frensche men a c m+, and of Englyschmen  
 3335 but vij m+, and the Frensche men proposed to haue ouerryden  
 theme. And then oure king had herde masse and axed  
 what tyme of the day yt was, and one saide yt was  
 ix of the klok. "For soth," saide oure king, "now all the clergy  
 of oure land praien for vs, and therfore now ys guode  
 3340 tyme to go to batell." Wherefore he praiede euery man,  
 with a lowde vois, to be of guode chere, for he saide he wolde  
 rather dye in felde that dai than be taken, for he wold  
 not put the lande of England in danger for his persone.  
 And thenne he cryed on hyght "In the name of God and  
 3345 Seint George, au aunt baner!" And the Frensche men of  
 armes come faste vpon hem, to haue ouerryden hem,  
 but what with arows and with stakes, thei and there hors  
 were ouerdrawen, that thei lay on hepes more thenne  
 a spere hight, and within an owre thei were discomfite.  
 3350 And that day the Frensche men saw Seint George  
 in the felde, in his armes, and euer syth hath his dai  
 ben halowed in this lande and euer schall; and thenne  
 come worde to oure king that there was a newe batell  
 3355 of Fenschmen redy to come vpon him, to the nombre  
 of iiij xx m+, and anone oure king them worde to voide  
 the felde and els he wolde slee all his presoners, and  
 thenne thei departed fro the felde. And the king retorened



to Harflowe with his presoners, that is to sey, the duke  
 of Orliaunce, the duke of Burben, the erle of Vende, th'erle  
 3360 of Ewe, th'erle of Richemond, Sir Durfigaunt, Marschall of  
 Fraunce, and many other lordes, knyghtes, and squiers,  
 and there were slayne of the Frensch party, the duke  
 of Berrey, the duke of Alaunson, the duke of Braben,  
 the erle of Narven, Constable of Fraunce, and viij other  
 3365 erles, a c barones, and of knyghtes and cote armes,  
 a m+ and moo, and of fotemen x m+; and of Englyschmen  
 were slane the duke of Yorke, th'erle of Suthffolke, Sir Dauid  
 Kam, and Sir Richard of Kighly, and xvj other persones,  
 and no moo. And thenne come oure king, with his  
 3370 presoners, into Englund and come to Canterbury,

25ra

and offered to Seint Thomas, and so furth come  
 toward London, and his presoners with him. And on  
 the Blake Heth mette him the Maire of London, the  
 shereffes, the aldermen, and the craftes, in theire  
 3375 best aray; and the king passed forth to Seint Tho-  
 mas Watering and there mette him the clergy of  
 the cite, as wele seculer as religiouse, and sang  
 "te deum laudamus" with a faire procession and  
 in the Chepe was made a castell of canvas,  
 3380 and that was full of ladies and gentylwomen,  
 and in the same castell were many childerin  
 araied like angelles and thei song in this wise,  
 "King Saul slowe a thousand men, but oure  
 king hath slane suche ten," and pointed toward  
 3385 the king with there king, and an angell come  
 doune with avyse, and presented him with a basyn  
 full of golde, and thenne thei lette flee aboute  
 him a m+ smale birdes; and thenne come he to Pou-  
 les and there mette him xiiij bischopes, rowssed  
 3390 and mitered, and iche of them a sensoure of golde in  
 his hande, and thei sang "te deum laudamus;"  
 and whenne the king come to Ludegate and a  
 woman poured a bolle full of whete on his  
 hede, and that lyked him ryght well, and the bow-  
 3395 ers of London hadde hanged oute there bowers so  
 that, fro Ludgate to Temple Barre, both sydes of  
 the strete hing full of bowes, but that lyked  
 not the Frensche presoners; and so rode he forth



3400 to his palace of Westmynster. And in the iiij yere  
 of his regne, came th'emperour of Almayne into  
 this lande to se the king, and the king loged him  
 in his owne palace at Westmynster, and as  
 longe as he was there, he was on the kinges  
 3405 coste, and hadde grete chere. And after, in the v  
 yere of his regne, be the advyse of his lordes, he  
 went upon the see agane and wanne many  
 castellys and tounes, and he leide sege to Cane  
 and wanne yt with strenght, and made duke of  
 Clarence capteyn therof; and so he went forth

25rb

3410 to Roon. And the same yere, Sir John Oldecastell, Lorde  
 Cobhame, was hanged and brent for Lollardrye in  
 Englande and for treson and so were many moo of his  
 secte. And thenne the king sent Sir Thomas Dewforde,  
 duke of Excestre, to the capteyn of Roon, to bede him  
 3415 yelde the citee to the king and he seide he wold not,  
 and anone the king come thidre with his lordes and all his  
 retenew and segid the toune on euery side, both be  
 lande and water. And there was in the citee of  
 Roon ccc m+ men, women, and childerin, of the whiche  
 3420 there was xxx m+ goode haruest men, and daily thei  
 isshued oute at diuers yates of the toune and  
 faught full manly with oure meyne, but allwei  
 thei were dryven in agane. And so were keped vn-  
 to thei hadde eten there horses, their hondes, their  
 3425 cattes, their myse, and rattes, and thousandes  
 of them died for hungre, and then put thei oute  
 men, women, and childerin into the dikes, but the  
 king wolde not suffre them to passe away, but  
 lete theme die for hungre; and there men myght  
 3430 see childerin soke their moders whenne thei were  
 dede, and men lay in the dikes gnawing grasse  
 and eten childerin, and so dyede in the dikes many  
 thousandes, and thenne thei of the citee were full  
 fayne to yelde vp the cite and haue there lyves, and  
 3435 become the kinges legemen and of him to holde  
 foreuer; and after, in the vij yere of his reigne,  
 there was a trefy taken betwene the king and the  
 king of Fraunce and yt was so acorded that oure  
 king schulde wedde Dame Katerine, doughter to the

3440 king of Fraunce, and that oure king schulde  
 chaunge his style, that is to sey, whereas he  
 called him in his stile Rex Anglie Fraunce,  
 that he schulde calle himselfe Rex Anglie,  
 heres to regens Frauncie duryng the lyffe of the  
 3445 king of Fraunce, and after his discese to calle him  
 Rex Anglie Frauncie, and in like wise schulde  
 his heres kinges of England so be taken and  
 called foreuer. And by the same acording, king  
 Charles of Fraunce was delyverd to oure  
 3450 king to be vnder his rule, for he was notte  
 full wyse, and so he was vnder the rule of  
 oure king all his lyfe; and after the king  
 wedded Dame Katerine, doughter to King

25va

Charles, atte Troys in Champen, and broght here  
 3455 into Englonde, to Westmynster. And after, the  
 duke of Clarence was slayne in Fraunce, fast  
 by the water of Leire, with the Frenschemen and  
 Scottes, because he wolde not be gouerned by  
 his counseil, and toke his archers with him; and  
 3460 there were taken the erle of Huntyngdon, th'erle  
 of Somersette and his brother, and iiij xx goode knyghtes  
 were slayne with them. And after, in the ix yere  
 of his reigne, he went agane into Fraunce,  
 and on Seint Nicholas Dai, was Quene Katerine  
 3465 delyverd of a prince that was called Harry, and  
 in the x yere of his regne Quene Katerine  
 went upon the see to Harflow to the king, hire  
 housband, and with here went the duke of  
 Bedford. And after in the x yere of his regne  
 3470 he died at Bois de Vincent, and within iij  
 wekes after, King Charles of Fraunce died, and  
 thenne Harry, sonne of the saide King Harry,  
 was called Rex Anglie Frauncie, according to  
 the couenauntes aforseid, and he was then  
 3475 of the age of xxxviiij wekes. And anone after  
 the body of King Harry the v te was brought in-  
 to Englonde and beryed at Westmynster, bes-  
 syde Seint Edwardes schryne. And the ii nd yere  
 after come diuers lordes oute of Fraunce, to doo  
 3480 their homage to King Harry the Sexte as king of

Englonde and of Fraunce, and the king of Scottes,  
that then was in Englonde and had ben many  
yeres byfore, dide his homage to him in presens  
of many lordes. And the same yere, the duke  
3485 of Bedforde, that then was Regent of France,  
had a grete batell with the Frenschemen and the  
Scottes at Vernell in Perche, and there were  
many lordes of Fraunce and of Scotlande  
slane, and many other goode men of werre,  
3490 to the nombr of ix m+, and the duke of  
Detforde hadde the victory. And in the said  
yere, King Harry the Sexte was coroned  
at Westmynster. And after, the seide king  
of Scottes wedded the erles doughter of  
3495 Somersette, and after, in the iiij th yere of the said  
King Harry, he was made knyght at the  
Parliament at Leicestre, and so was the

25vb

duke of Yorke and many other lordes; and in the  
vj te of his regne was the goode erle of Salysbury  
3500 slayne atte the sege of Orliaunce, with a gonne, that  
was oon of the worthiest knyghtes of the world,  
and was beryed at Bursshame.

## The Glossary

The glossary attempts to record every form of every word that occurs in the text, with a selection of references sufficient to illustrate each form and to exemplify the principle senses and uses of each word. Where, as is frequently the case, words appear in variant forms and spellings, it is generally the variant that occurs most frequently that appears in listings. However, there are some exceptions to this principle. When variants occur in more or less equal numbers, an alphabetic system of listing has been adopted. Where words, especially verbs, appear in different inflectional forms, listing follows a fixed order. Verbs are given in the infinitive if it appears in the text. Where no infinitive appears, it has not been reconstructed. In this case, listing follows the order which is also adhered to in the listing of inflexional categories in the final part of the entry. That is, by the present tense, indicative, in order of person in the singular, then the plural, the subjunctive, the imperative, the past tense indicative and subjunctive, the present participle and the past participle. Formal distinctions in the past tense between singular and plural are not normally made in the language of the scribe, and therefore in the glossary number distinctions in the past are only specified on the rare occasions where the plural is formally distinguished in the text. There has been no attempt at hypothetical reconstruction of headwords. That is to say, for example, where no infinitive form of a verb appears in the text, the form of the infinitive has not been theoretically derived from the stem in the inflected form.

For convenience of glossing senses, where a weak verb appears in both past tense (*p.t.*) and past participle (*p.p.*) forms that are morphologically identical, then past tense and past participle forms are conflated as "*p.t. and p.p.*" with no separate categorisation.

### **A Note on Alphabetisation**

<i> and <y> where they represent vowels in non-initial position are treated as identical and appear under <i>. Where there are equal numbers of spellings of <i> and <y> in the spellings of a given word, <i> appears before <y>. Where <i> and <y> appear in initial position the <y> forms appear in an alphabetical order after <w>, and <i> after <h>, and where a given word appears with *both* initial <i> and <y> spellings, they are glossed under the letter under which they are most frequently spelled.

## Glossary of Terms

### A

- a,an** *indef.art.* a 3,5,10,23,40,51,etc.  
**a** *pron.* see **he**  
**abbey** *n.* abbey 1395,1466,1659,1673,2170,etc.  
**abbot(t)** *n.* abbot 1363,1418,1799,2114,2393  
**abide** see **abyde**  
**abode** see **abyde**  
**aboute,abowt** *prep.* around 326,810,856,896,2000,etc.  
**aboute** *adv.* around 2373  
**abowt** see **aboute**  
**abyde,abide** *v.* stay, reside (at) 79,111,529; await 2750,2778; remain 2077; keep 2814; *p.t.* **abode** 139,526,1187,2164,2718,etc.  
**abyte** *n.* religious habit 802,1306  
**aboue** *prep.* above 1193  
**abouesaid** *adj.* described above 2143  
**absence** *n.* absence 3092  
**acorde,acording** *n.* truce 2825,3448  
**ac(c)orde** *v.* reconcile 2700; *p.t.* and *p.p.* 163,389,664,1329,1783; *p.t.* and *p.p.* agreed 574,1452,2199,3176,3438  
**according (to)** according to 2376  
**actes** *n.pl.* deeds 2243,2872  
**admitted** *p.t.* admitted 2103  
**adoo** see **do**  
**aduersite** *n.* adversity 280  
**advyse** *n.* advice 912,1227,3303,3405  
**aferd** see **(f)ferd(e)**  
**affinite** *n.* agreement 2528,2968,3176,3186,3293  
**affirmans** *n.* confirmation 2203  
**afir** see **after**  
**afore** *adv.* previously 2765  
**afore** *prep.* in front of 3042,3333  
**(a)foresaid(e),aforseid** *adj.* aforesaid 339,2804,3474  
**after,aftir** *adv.* afterwards 13,30,86,99, 101,etc.; *prep.* after 55,57,286,297,300,etc.; **afir** 234; **after that** *conj.* 229,1905  
**after (that)** see **after**  
**afterward(e),aftirward(e)** *adv.* afterwards 55,223,314,381,384,etc  
**aftir** see **after**  
**aftirward(e)** see **afterward(e)**  
**aga(y)ne,ageyne** *adv.* again 182,296,387,394,406,etc.  
**agane** see **ayen**  
**age** *n.* age 92,244,795,954,1335,etc.

**ageyns** *see* **ayen**  
**agre** *v.* agree 2858,3138  
**aither** *pron.* each 954  
**al(l)** *quant.* all 17,22,25,42,45,etc.; *adv.* completely 52,435,807  
**alas** *exclam.* alas 1080,1381,1488  
**aldermen** *n.pl.* aldermen 3374  
**ale** *n.* ale 2179,2180  
**alied** *p.t.* *alied vnto* allied with 2585-6  
**alienes** *n.pl.* foreigners 2911  
**al(l)wey, allwei** *adv.* always 1264,1424,3422  
**alone** *adj.* alone 973  
**also** *adv.* also 22,843,1124,1419,1976,etc.  
**amend(e)** *v.* amend (behaviour) 27,29,1490,2125; *p.t.* **amend** 452  
**among** *prep.* among 111,303,602,1479,1530,etc; between 937; **emong** 303,937,1479,1530,1621,etc.  
**an** *see* **a**  
**anamo(u)rd(e)** *p.p.* enamoured 876,1110  
**and** *conj.* and 5,7,8,9,11,etc.; if 142,813,846,2174  
**angell** *n.* angel 1518,1652,3385; *pl.* **angell** 1382 **angelles** 3382  
**angelles** *see* **angell**  
**angre** *n.* anger 688  
**any** *see* **eny**  
**anon(e)** *adv.* at once, shortly 130,131,134,143,150,etc.  
**anoþer,another** *pron.* another 65,243,434,632,645,etc.; *adj.* 434  
**anoýted** *p.p.* annointed 1878  
**ansuer(e)** *v.* answer 409,957,971,2707,3137  
**ansuere,answere** *n.* answer 874,2522,2523  
**apeled** *p.t.* accused 3077  
**ap(p)ered** *p.t.* appeared 62,1518,2823  
**apointed** *p.t.* appointed 913  
**apoyntement** *n.* agreement 2815  
**aposteles** *n.pl.* apostles 587  
**apparant** *adj.* **heire apparant** heir apparent 2900,2959  
**apparell** *v.* fit out, equip 741  
**aquaynted** *refl.,p.t.* became acquainted 93-4,122  
**ar** *prep.* before 1333,1490  
**araied** *refl., p.t.* equipped 555; *p.p.* **araied,arreid** dressed 1065,3382  
**array** *n.* array 3375  
**archbischoþ** *see* **arch(e)bischop(p)**  
**archbischoþp** *see* **arch(e)bischop(p)**  
**archebischop** *see* **arch(e)bischop(p)**  
**arch(e)bischop(p)** *n.* archbishop 631,1426,1432,1753,2044,etc. **archibischopp** 1408 **archebissop** 2095  
**archebissop** *see* **arch(e)bischop(p)**  
**archibischopp** *see* **arch(e)bischop(p)**  
**arch(i)er** *n.* archer 1789,3333,3459  
**are** *see* **be**



**arested** *p.t.* and *p.p.* arrested 2619,3041,3054  
**aryued,aryved** *p.t.* and *p.p.* arrived 50,832,1017,1242,1864,etc.  
**aryved** *see* **aryued**  
**armed** *adj.* armed 1207,2395 **well armed** *see* **wel**  
**armes** *n.* do there **armes** do battle 3080-1  
**armo(u)r** *n.* weapons and armour 555,562  
**arow(e)** *n.* arrow 106,1574,1790,3347  
**arreid** *see* **araied**  
**are** *see* **be**  
**arte** *see* **be**  
**articles** *n.pl.* treatises 2204  
**as** *conj.* as 37,405,896,910; while 200,432,941,952,972,etc; like 910; as if 817; *as for me* 34; *as heir* 173,2900; *as longe as* 3403; *as many* 916; *as moche as* 849,853; *as ought* 253,849; *as sone as* 561,686-7,692,776,1136,etc.; *as they said* 99  
**asaute,assawt** *n.* surprise attack 1121-2,2330  
**asched** *see* **aske**  
**aske** *v.* ask 267; *p.t.* and *p.p.* **asked,asched** 246,248,251,961,969 **asshed** 1079  
**axed(e)** 407,1378,1917,1937,1953,etc.  
**aspied** *p.t.* spotted 1110,1133  
**assemble** *n.* meeting 3288  
**assemble** *v.* raise (an army) 135,891,1259,1298,1321,etc.  
**assent(e)** *v.* assent 46,131,359,714,760,etc. *p.t.* **assente** 42  
**assent(e)** *n.* assent 324,1893,2261,2378; *be/by on(e)/oon assent(e)* unanimously 18,124,1850,2967  
**asshed** *see* **aske**  
**assigned** *p.t.* assigned 2035,2562  
**assoiled** *see* **assoyled**  
**assoyled,assoiled** *p.t.* absolved of sin 1754-5,2129,2132  
**assumpcion** *n.* Assumption 3313  
**at(te)** *prep.* at 43,106,117,216,221,236,etc. *at the last(e)* 323,1329, 2284; in 436  
**at debate** *see* **debate**  
**ateint** *p.p.* convicted 2302,2982  
**auaunt** *see* **avaunce**  
**auctorite** *n.* authority 2305,3159  
**aught** *see* **ought**  
**austeyn (ffreres)** *see* **ffrere**  
**avaunce** *v.* promote, help on 814; *imp.* **auaunt** advance 3345  
**avenge** *v.* avenge 821,905; *p.p.* 175,845,1021,1056,1231,etc.  
**aventour** *n.pl.* amazing experiences 1957  
**avyse** *n.* counsel 3386  
**avoide** *v.* to leave, quit 2200  
**avowed** *p.p.* had vowed 746  
**award** *n.* decree 2130,2200-1  
**awarded** *p.t.* decreed 2317-18,2623  
**away** *see* **away**  
**away,away** *adv.* away 436,567,977,1006,1061,etc.

**axed** *see* **aske**

**ayen, agane, ageyns**, *prep.* against 778, 847, 1264, 1268, 1321, 2521, etc.

## B

**bad** *see* **bede**

**bade** *see* **bede**

**baker** *n.* baker 3017

**baner** *n.* banner, standard 3345

**banysched** *p.t.* banished 2301

**baptise** *v.* baptize 628, 629, 634, 1397; *p.p.* **baptized** 1397

**baptized** *see* **baptise**

**barell** *n.* cask 2593

**barfote** *adj.* barefoot 1441

**baronage** *n.* nobles 1194, 2161

**baron** *n.* baron 46, 852, 1219, 1445, 1701, etc.

**barre** *n.* court 2619

**bastard** *adj.* illegitimate 1905

**bastard** *n.* bastard 2016, 2856, 2860, 2863

**basyn** *n.* circular dish 3386

**batell** *n.* battle 176, 514, 1162, 1166, 1200, etc. **batell(e)** *pl.* 893, 2658 **batelles** *pl.*

batallions 2491 *plane batell* "open field", fair fight

82, 313, 340, 392, 655, etc.

**batelles** *see* **batell**

**be** *v.* **be** 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, etc. *inf.* 15, 36, 126, 127, 135, etc.; *1 s pres t indic.* **am** 1828, 3141;

*2 s pres. t indic.* **art(e)** 1827, 2520 **be** 125, 126, 256, 727; **is** 210, 212, 382,

442, 488, etc. **ys** 496, 737, 960, 980, 987, etc.; *1 p pres t indic* **are** 35 **be**

836, 839; *3 p pres t indic* **beth** 988 **ben** 41 **be** 836, 839; *2 s pres t subj.* **be**

728; *3 s pres t subj.* **be** 255, 1311, 2175, 3138, 3140; *1, 3 s pt indic* **was**

1, 3, 4, 6, 8, etc.; *2 s, 1-2 p pt indic* **were** 30, 59, 64, 114, 151, etc.; *3 p pt indic*

**was** 1037, 1578, 2972 **wore** 2108; *3 s pt subj.* **were**

37, 140, 813, 984, 1382, etc.; *pres part* **beyng** 3036; *pp* **be** 1424, 2583 **ben**

24, 152, 203, 564, 713, etc.

**be** *prep.* *see* **by**

**because, bycause** *conj.* because 116, 157, 193, 315, 503, etc.

**become** *v.* become 2027, 2368, 3435; *p.t.* **become** 374, 447, 449, 777, 1183, etc.; *yt*

*become him*, it became him 3299

**bedd(e)** *n.* bed 40, 866, 1788

**bede** *v.* to command 3414; *p.t.* **bad(e)** 556, 904, 1277, 1314, 1653, etc.

**befell, befill** *p.t.* occurred 14, 774, 1433, 1529, 1538

**befill** *see* **befell**

**before, byfore** *adv.* before 1055, 1645, 2655, 2767, 2864, etc.; *prep.* 746, 2259; in the

presence of 741, 867, 868, 2138, 2172, etc.; *before tyme* before that time

2710

**beganne** *see* **begynne**  
**begoten** *p.p.* begotten 979  
**begyle** *v.* deceive 1708; *p.p.* 1723  
**begynne** *v.* begin 2181; *3pres.* **begynnyth** 614; *p.t.* **began(n)e**  
 615,940,2151,2160, 2214,etc. **bygan** 2263  
**begynnyth** *see* **begynne**  
**(be)hated** *p.t.* and *p.p.* hated 1355,1879  
**behinde, behynde** *prep.* behind 560,1261,1797  
**behynde** *see* **behinde**  
**beld(e)** *v.* build 616,850  
**beloued** *adj.* beloved 120,338  
**beme** *n.* beam of light 1074,1076,1083,1087  
**bemide** *p.t.* ordered 2269  
**benche** *n.*; *the kingis benche*, the Court of the King's Bench 2909  
**bendes, bendys** *n.pl.* bands 2492,2493  
**bendys** *see* **bendes**  
**benefices** *n.pl.* benefices, lands held in feudal tenure 2882,2884  
**bent** *adj.* bent 1789  
**berafte** *p.t.* bereft 2824  
**bere** *v.* bear away 1940; *p.p.* **borne** 1101,1138,2050,2899  
**bere armes** *v.* fight 2340  
**bery** *v.* bury 1275,1480; *p.p.* **beried, beryed** 1096,1139,1480,1584,3142,etc.  
**beseged** *p.t.* and *p.p.* besieged 1115,1167,1201  
**beside, besyde, byside** *prep.* beside 747,1624,1924,2090,2423,etc.; near  
 913,962,1034,1207,1263,etc.  
**besyde** *see* **beside**  
**beso(u)ght** *p.t.* beseeched 410,596,1617,1622,1651,etc.  
**best** *see* **goode**  
**best(e)** *n.* beast 58,434,435  
**bete** *v.* defeat 997,999; *p.t.* **bette doun** beat down 2231  
**beten** *adj.* beaten 1856  
**beth** *see* **be**  
**bethought** *see* **betought**  
**betoke** *p.t.* entrusted 1333  
**betokened** *p.t.* betokened 946  
**bet(h)ought** *refl.p.t.* considered 139,842  
**betraied** *p.t.* betrayed 116  
**bette (doun)** *see* **bete**  
**better** *as n.* *the better* 34,997,2661  
**better** *comp.adv.* *see* **well**  
**better** *comp.adj.* *see* **good(e)**  
**betwene, bytwene** *prep.* between 162,273-4,291,459,516,2216-7,etc.  
**betwix** *prep.* between 2215  
**bewte** *n.* beauty 1703,1718,1722  
**bewtyvous** *adj.* beautiful 1707  
**bidding** *n.* bidding 1744  
**birdes** *n.pl.* birds 3388

**birth** *see* **byrth**  
**bischehoppes** *see* **bischeppes**  
**bischeppes, bischopp** *n.* bishops 633, 782, 1363, 1412, 1413, etc. **bischehoppes** 1410  
**bischoppes** 3019 **byschopp** 1417-18, 1471  
**bischopp** *see* **bischeppes**  
**bischoppes** *see* **bischeppes**  
**bycause** *see* **because**  
**byfore** *see* **before**  
**byrth, birthe** *n.* ancestry, lineage 35, 738  
**byschopp** *see* **bischeppes**  
**byside** *see* **beside**  
**blanke charteres** *adj.* "blank" documents 3092-3  
**blasing** *adj.* blazing 3223  
**blessed** *p.t.* blessed 1927  
**blessed, blyssed** *adj.* blessed 1929, 1931  
**blissinge** *n.* blessing 2617  
**blinde** *adj.* blind 2552  
**blyssed** *see* **blessed**  
**blode** *n.* blood 301, 949, 984, 2315, 2527  
**body** *n.* body 639, 979, 1276, 1316, 1524, etc.  
**boke** *n.* bible 3144  
**bokes** *n.pl.* books 2920  
**bolde** *adj.* daring, bold 118, 126, 1143  
**bolle** *n.* bowl 3393  
**born(e)** *p.p.* born 540, 947, 1406, 1906, 2409, etc.  
**borne** (carried) *see* **bere**  
**both(e)** *det.* both 389, 969, 1129, 1164, 1301, 1322, etc.  
**bothome** *n.* foundation 989  
**bowe** *n.* archer's bow 1789  
**bowes** *n.pl.* ribbons 3397  
**bowellys** *n.pl.* intestines, bowels 1403  
**bowers** *n.pl.* bowers 3394-5; dwellings 3395  
**brake** *see* **breke**  
**brede** *n.* bread 1925  
**breder** *see* **brother**  
**brederin** *see* **brother**  
**brederyn** *see* **brother**  
**breke** *v.* break 2160; *p.t.* **brake** 2869; *p.p.* **broken** 2075  
**brent** *p.t.* and *p.p.* burnt 45, 1023, 1364, 2282, 2329, etc.; *pt* **brenned** 2920; *pres.part*  
**brennyng** 2726  
**Bretane(s), bretones** *n.pl.* natives of Britain 447, 466, 494, 503, 555, etc.  
**Bretane** *n.* Britain 320, 370, 381, 382, 395, etc. **brtanie** 209  
**brether** *see* **brother**  
**bretherin** *see* **brother**  
**brigge** *n.* bridge 2371  
**bring, bryng** *v.* bring 97, 915, 1225, 1590; *p.t.* and *p.p.* **bro(u)ght** 290, 368, 816, 1019, 1049, 1238, etc.

**bryng** *see* **bring**  
**broched** *p.t.* pierced 2178  
**broght** *see* **bring**  
**broken** *see* **breke**  
**brother** *n.* brother 144,196,314,357,371,etc. *gen* **brother** 463; *brother in lawe*  
     brother-in-law 1469; *pl.* **breder** 1330 **brederin** 337,1555; **brederyn** 1007;  
     **brether** 457; **bretherin** 332,834,1783;  
**brother in lawe** *see* **brother**  
**brought** *see* **bring**  
**Brutane** *see* **grete Brutane**  
**bulfelde** *n.* bull-field 3230  
**bull skinne** *see* **bull skynne**  
**bull skynne, - skinne, n.** bull-skin 854,855  
**but** *conj.* but 46,165,254,273,579,etc.; *adv.* only 254,2340; *prep.* only 986,1585,  
     1950,2159,2330,etc.; *prep.* except 268,710,1134,1829; *and but* except that  
     161 *but yf* unless 27,983-4,1382-3,3134  
**by,be** *prep.* near, beside 432,501,757,3088,3142,etc.; *by means of, through*  
     16,58,213,235,253,324,etc.; *be on assent* by one assent 124  
**byfore** *see* **before**  
**bynde** *v.* bind 1574,1797

## C

**call** *v.* name 2,4,6,8,55,etc.; summon 25,32,181,497,968  
**came** *see* **come**  
**canvas** *n.* canvas 3379  
**capteine, -teyne, n.** the leader of a group 600,2907,3322; military leader  
     1131,1445  
**capteyne** *see* **capteine**  
**caried** *p.p.* taken 363,1060,1307,3087  
**carta** *n.* charter 2159  
**cast(e)** *p.t.* cast 178,1022,1402,1797,1844,etc.; **cast(e) down**, tear down  
     1033,2461  
**castell** *n.* castle 211,858,863,925,941,etc.  
**catell** *n.* cattle 1476  
**cattes** *n.pl.* cats 2457,3425  
**cause** *n.* reason 980,987,1840  
**caused** *p.t.* caused 2905  
**caves** *n.pl.* caves 66  
**cawill** *v.* predict by casting lots 96  
**caytiff** *n.* wretch 1828  
**certefied** *p.p.* made known officially 2769  
**certe(y)n** *adj.* certain 274,2881,2971,3215

**cete, cite(e)** *n.* city 69, 71, 209, 230, 493, 1209, etc.  
**chalange** *v.* challenge 661  
**chaless** *n.* chalice 2075  
**chamber, -re, -ir, -r** *n.* private room, bedroom 31, 32, 797, 866, 973, 976, 2637, etc.  
**chamberleyn, chambleyn** *n.* chief attendant in a royal chamber 2479, 3046  
**chambir** *see* **chamber**  
**chambr(e)** *see* **chamber**  
**charching** *n.* charging 1223  
**charged** *p.p.* charged, loaded 2257  
**chartur** *n.* charter, deed 2157, 2158, 2203, 2204 **Carta** 2159  
**chartur** *see* **charter**  
**chase** *p.t.sg.* chose 647, 900, 1552, 3222; *p.t.pl.* **chosen** 2100  
**chas(s)ed** *p.t.* pursued 1465, 1583, 2292  
**chas(s)ed** *p.t.* drove 1363, 2104, 2932  
**chaste** *adj.* chaste 747, 1898  
**chastice** *v.* chastise 2396  
**chaunceler** *n.* Chancellor 2534, 2957, 2976  
**chaungyng** *vbl.n.* changing 496  
**chaung** *v.* change 928, 1030, 1369, 1501, 1503, etc. *pp* **changed** 1597  
**chefe, chief** *adj.* chief, superior 933, 1533; *Chief Justice* Chief Justice 2205-6, 2980  
**chepell** *n.* chapel 2875  
**chere** *n.* frame of mind, spirits 557, 3341, 3404  
**chere** *n.* cathedra, seat of a bishop 584  
**chevalr(e)y** *n.* mounted soldiers 2676, 2743, 3331  
**cheyne** *n.* chain 3000  
**chide** *v.* wrangle 955  
**chief** *see* **chefe**  
**Chief Justice** *see* **chefe**  
**child(e)** *n.* child 95, 96, 98, 947, 949, 1720, etc.; *with childe* pregnant 95; *pl.*  
**childerin** 498, 506, 634, 954, 1405, etc.; **childeryn** 504, 825; **chylderen** 63  
**childerin** *see* **child(e)**  
**childeryn** *see* **child(e)**  
**childyng** *vbl.n.* giving birth 100  
**chirche** *see* **churches**  
**chylderen** *see* **child(e)**  
**chose** *n.* *put...in chose*, offer (someone) a choice 3220  
**chosen** *see* **chase**  
**chirch(e), churches** *n.* church 441, 583, 1362, 1577, 1847, etc.  
**churles** *n.pl.* churls 2418  
**cistern** *n.* Cistercian 2115  
**cite(e)** *see* **cete**  
**citez(e)in** *n.* citizen 2245, 2981  
**clame** *v.* claim 3108, etc.; *p.p.* 1645, 2311, 2380, 2449, 2693  
**clergy** *n.* clergy 1400, 3292, 3338, 3376; *Scollys of Clergy* *see* **scoles**  
**clerk** *n.* learned man, scholar 96, 945, 982, 2101, 2301, etc.; priest 2101; scribe 2301  
**clok** *n.* *of the klok* o'clock 3338  
**cloth** *n.* cloth 1671

**clothing** *n.* clothing 268  
**comaunde** *v.* command 1821,2632  
**come** *v.* come 23,149,520,741,839,etc.; *p.t.* **came** 202 **come** 56,73,88,92,136,etc.;  
*p.p.* **come(n)** 78,114,122,861,2539 *pres.part.* **comyng** 1935,1946,2076  
**comen** *see* **come**  
**comyng** *n.* coming 726,1258,2165,2750,2780,etc.  
**comittement** *n.* plan, intention 2599  
**comyners** *n.pl.* citizens 2678  
**comens,comyns** *n.pl.* commoners 2304,2455,2702-03,2709,2906,3021,etc.  
**competent** *adj.* adequate, competent 3327  
**complaynte** *n.* complaint 19  
**compleyned** *p.t.* and *p.p.* complained 33,785,3022  
**composicion** *n.* treaty, truce 377,378  
**conceled,counseled** *p.t.* counselled, advised 47,802  
**condicioned** *p.p.* conditioned 266  
**condicions** *n.pl.* personal character, disposition 26,28,452-3  
**condicions** *n.pl.* conditions (of an agreement) 3139,3144,3147  
**condicon** *n.* condition 879,901,2270,2655  
**condite** *n.* safe conduct 3126  
**conditis** *n.pl.* conduits 2247  
**confedracy** *n.* confederacy 2487  
**confessed** *p.t.* confessed 2451  
**confessor** *n.* confessor 2916; *Edward the Confessor* 3157  
**connyng** *adj.* wise, skilful 1309  
**conquere,-uore** *v.* conquer 56,208,339,356,393,etc.  
**conqueror** *n.* conqueror 5,2017  
**conqueste** *n.* conquest 2056  
**conquore** *see* **conquere**  
**contrarious** *adj.* perverse, hostile 2041  
**contrary** *adj.* contrary 2411  
**conuerted(e)** *p.t.* and *p.p.* converted 1397,1407-8,1414,1424  
**coppe,cuppe** *n.* drinking cup, chalice 867,1671,2179  
**corne** *n.* corn 1476  
**corner** *n.* corner 997  
**coronac(i)on** *n.* coronation 1675,2249,2901  
**corone,croun,crown** *n.* crown 342,451,1807,3145,3154  
**coronicles** *see* **cronicles**  
**coronycles** *see* **cronicles**  
**corowned** *see* **crouned**  
**cosyn(e)** *n.* kinsman, kinswoman 696,1179,1290,1354,1484,etc.  
**coste** *n.* expense 3245,3404  
**cote armes** *n.pl.* persons entitled to bear heraldic arms 3365  
**counseil(l),counseyl(l)** *n.* advice 1194,1803; confidence 1662; council  
2972,3113,3131,3132; plan 3180  
**counseyl(l)** *see* **counseil(l)**  
**counseled** *see* **conceled**  
**courtes,courtts** *n.pl.* (the king and his) court 2302,3026,3027



**couth(e),kouth** *p.t.* could 853,871,942,964,1052,3260,etc.  
**couth** *p.t.* knew 2471  
**couenaunt** *n.* covenant 158,262,3474  
**covent** *n.* body of monks 2100,2105,2149  
**cowarde** *n.* coward 2781  
**crafte** *n.* occult art 1047,1051,1116,1131; craft guilds 3374  
**creatours** *see* **creature**  
**creature** *n.* creature 744 **creatours** 250  
**cried** *see* **crye**  
**cristendome,crystendeme,crystendome** *n.* christendom 781,1572,2587  
**crye** *v.* call out, cry 3324-5 *p.t.* **cried,cried** 2148,3344; *pres.part.* **crying** 202  
**crysten,cristen** *adj.* christian 623,680,681,685,767,928,etc.  
**cristen,crysten** *v.* baptise 626,1383,1415,1596,1720 *p.p.* **crysten** 1591  
**crystendeme** *see* **cristendome**  
**crystendome** *see* **cristendome**  
**crystmas(se)** *n.* Christmas 2020,3172  
**cronicles,coronicles,coronycles** *n.pl.* chronicles, official records of events 1811, 1985,2313  
**Crosse** *n.* Cross 690,2050,2065  
**cro(u)ned,crown(n)ed,corowned** *p.t.* and *p.p.* 182,344,448,465,467,579,776, 1982,etc.  
**crown(n)ed** *see* **crowned**  
**cruell** *adj.* cruel 447,777,1442  
**cunteis** *n.* countess 2213  
**cuntre** *n.* country 78,175,326,393,396,etc.; *district, area* 599,616,910,1024, 1587,etc.  
**cuppe** *see* **coppa**  
**cursed** *p.t.* cursed 2122,2197,2462  
**curtesey** *n.* made *curtesy* did obeisance 1855

## D

**daggar** *n.* daggar 2928  
**dai** *see* **day**  
**daily** *adv.* daily 3420  
**dame** *n.* woman of rank, lady 14,53,2809,3044,3088,etc.  
**damsell** *n.* damsel 93  
**dampnede** *p.p.* condemned 3257  
**Dane** *n.* Dane 1326,1804,1853  
**danger** *n.* danger 3343  
**day,dai** *n.* day 11,25,103,200,243,etc. *vpon a day* one day 10 *on daies* by day 992

**debate** *n.* quarrel, dispute 516,2309; *at debate* quarrelling 192,293,311-2,516,1458  
**deceived** *p.t.* deceived 2720  
**ded** *n.* dead 1480  
**dede** *adj.* dead 87,169,229,240,335,etc.; *demed to be dede*: see **demed**  
**dede** *v.* see **do**  
**defende** *v.* defend 846  
**degrated** *p.p.* stripped 3161,3162,3163,3168,3174  
**dele** *p.t.* dealt with 2123  
**deliuerd,deliver,delyver** *v.* give up 1335,1941,2141,2142,2352; *p.p.* taken to 3449; *p.p.* gave birth to 1123,3465  
**deliver** see **deliuerd**  
**delyver** see **deliuerd**  
**demed** *p.p.* *demed to be dede* sentenced to death 2574-5,3057  
**dente** *n.* with *dente of swerde* by force of arms 3298  
**departe,-erte** *v.* divide (possessions, property) 262,273,291,350,458; to leave, depart 688,1111; *p.p.* 30  
**depe** *adj.* deep 1623  
**deperte** see **departe**  
**depose** *v.* remove from office 448,458,888  
**derthe** *n.* famine 2454  
**descesse** see **disces(s)e**  
**desire** *n.* wish 2495,2496  
**desire** *v.* desire 60,1719; *p.t.* asked 877,1204,2158,3136-7  
**destroie** see **distroye**  
**destroyng** see **distroye**  
**deth** *n.* death 263,291,303,311,463,etc.  
**dettys** *n.pl.* debts 3141  
**deuell,devell** *n.* devil 61,959,2451,2823  
**devell** see **deuell**  
**devided,devyded** *p.t.* subdivided 937,1371  
**devyded** see **devided**  
**devyne** *adj.* divine 2109  
**devored** see **devo(u)red**  
**devo(u)red** *p.t.* devoured 203,435  
**dicomfite** see **discomfet**  
**did(e)** see **do**  
**died** see **dye**  
**digge** *v.* dig 993,994  
**dignite** *n.* stateliness 1878  
**dike** *v.* surround with trenches 2328  
**dikes** *n.pl.* defensive ditches, trenches 3427,3431,3432  
**diner** *n.* dinner 1222  
**disces(s)e,descesse** *n.* death 234,1910,1975,1980,2400,3445  
**discharged** *p.t.* relieved 3023  
**discofit** see **discomfit(e)**

**discomfet,-fit(e),-fyte** *p.t.* and *p.p.* rout in battle 82,391,513,524,565,etc.; *p.p.*  
**discofit** 2011 **dicomfite** 371  
**discomfit(e)** *see* **discomfet**  
**discomfyte** *see* **discomfet**  
**discouerd** *p.p.* discovered 3180  
**dispetefull** *adj.* insulting 1231  
**dispite,-pute** *n.* contempt, disdain 275,457,1547,2413,2483,etc. **dispytes** insults  
 1857  
**displese** *v.* displease, offend 2644  
**disposicion** *n.* a frame of mind, attitude 20  
**dispute** *see* **dispite**  
**distroie** *see* **distroye**  
**distroye,destroie,distroie** *v.* destroy, lay waste 71,146,282,521,653,etc; *ger.*  
**destroyng** 2727  
**diuers(e)** *see* **dyuers**  
**divinite** *n.* *doctores of divinite* scholars of theology 3214  
**die,dye** *v.* die 86,100,101,168,225,760,etc.  
**dye** *see* **die**  
**dyd** *see* **do**  
**dyne** *v.* eat, dine 862,865,1786  
**dyuers,diuers(e)** *adj.* diverse 213,587,633,978,1273,etc.  
**do** *v.* do 34,841,852,872,1224,etc.; put on (an article of clothing), don 562,2927;3  
*p pres t.* **done** 254; *p.t.* **dede** 16,47 **did(e),dyd**  
 80,165,447,497,922,1137,etc.; *p.p.* **do(n),done** 12,83,377,722,1052,etc.;  
*neuer to a/do with* never associated with 948,972  
**doctores** *see* **divinite**  
**dogges** *n.pl.* dogs 2456  
**dolphyn** *n.* dauphin 3295,3317  
**do(n)(e)** *see* **do**  
**dore** *n.* door 2108,2556,2639; *pl.* **durres** 973  
**dorter** *n.* dormitory 2184  
**dos** *see* **tho(o)s**  
**doughter** *n.* daughter 7,8,14,20,22,etc.; **doughther** 167,705,710  
**doughther** *see* **doughter**  
**doune,down** *adv.* down 201,560,943,988,991,etc.  
**down** *see* **doune**  
**drad(e)** *p.t.* feared 2068,2591; *drade him refl.* feared 3091  
**draght** *see* **draught**  
**dragon(e)** *n.* dragon 989,995,996,998,1002,etc.  
**drank(e)** *see* **drink**  
**dra(u)ght** *n.* draught 2182,2183  
**draw** *v.* draw (behind a horse) 2293  
**drawing** *vbl.n.* drawing 2526  
**dred** *n.* fear 647  
**dreffe** *see* **drife**  
**dremed** *p.t.* dreamed 2045  
**drenche** *v.* drown 1922

**dressed** *refl. p.t.* proceed 1289  
**dreven** *see* **drife**  
**drife** *v.* chase, pursue 892; *p.t.s* **dreffe** 2429 **droffe** 295,514,773,1005; *p.t.pl.* **driven** 1851; *p.p.* **dreven, driuen, driven, dryven** 108,366,751,894, 1004, etc.  
**drink** *v.* drink 1675 *p.t.* **drank(e)** 875,1134,1136,1137,1743, etc.  
**drink heil** *v.* toast 874  
**drinke** *n.* drink 1134  
**driuen** *see* **drife**  
**driven** *see* **drife**  
**dryven** *see* **drife**  
**droffe** *see* **drife**  
**droun(n)ed** *p.t.* and *p.p.* drowned 150,179,1798,2472  
**duchery** *n.* duchy 2568,2582,3161  
**duches** *n.* duchess 3042,3064  
**duell** *see* **dwell**  
**duellyng** *see* **dwellyng**  
**duke** *n.* duke 385,1767,1903,1907,1910, etc.  
**duracion** *n.* length of existence 1829  
**dured** *p.t.* lasted 1482,2458  
**dury** *n.* dowry 3194  
**durying** *prep.* during 3010,3444  
**durres** *see* **dore**  
**durst** *p.t.* dared 529,826,1246,2077  
**dwell,duell** *v.* dwell 66,119,411,414,491,597, etc.; *pr.p.* **dwellyng** 52,2101  
**dwellyng** (living) *see* **dwell**  
**dwellyng,duellyng** *n.*; **-place**, place to settle 840,1394

## E

**eftsones** *adv.* immediately after 2081  
**eire,heir(e),heres** *n.* heir 173,331,381,385,639,3447, etc.; *pl.* **heris** 375  
**eldest** *see* **olde**  
**elder** *see* **olde**  
**eleccon** *n.*; *put...in eleccon* offered...a choice 2004  
**elle** *n.* an ell's depth (45 inches deep) 1626  
**elles** *see* **ellys**  
**ellys,elles,els** *adv.* else 2006,2568,2594,3297,3356  
**ellys** *adj.* other 1676  
**els** *see* **ellys** *adv.*  
**embassitores** *n.pl.* ambassadors 3295  
**emes** *n.pl.* uncles 7  
**emong** *see* **among**

**emperies** *n.* empress 2190  
**emperour** *n.* emperor 509,525,548,550,554,643,etc.  
**encheson** *n.* reason 1192  
**ende** *n.* end 1073  
**endewed** *p.t.* endowed 2876  
**endure** *v.* continue 943,2198  
**engyne** *n.* a mechanical contrivance 1792  
**englysche** *n.* English (language)871  
**englysch** *n.* The English 1422  
**englysch(e)** *adj.* English 1371,1850,3328  
**englyschmen** *n.pl.* Englishmen 180,1422,1854-5,2265,2331 etc.  
**englyschwomman** *n.* Englishwoman 1762-3  
**eny,any** *adj.* any 318,917,948,958,1509,etc.  
**enlarge** *v.* enlarge 2043  
**en(y)my** *n.* enemy 75,613,843,847,1092,etc.  
**enmy** *see en(y)my*  
**enought** *adj.* enough 1215  
**enquere** *v.;* *enquere of* investigate 2372  
**entent** *n.* intent 1704,1860  
**enterdite** *v.* interdict 2107,2462  
**entre** *v.* enter 975,1116  
**entreted** *p.t.* negotiated with, parleyed with 663  
**envy** *n.* envy 1321  
**erand** *n.* mission 1725  
**erbes** *n.pl.* plants 58,1478  
**erdequaue** *n.* earthquake 2935  
**erle** *n.* earl 261,271,408,414,507,etc.  
**erledome** *n.* earldom 1873,1896,1902,2962  
**erly** *adv.* early 2344  
**erthly** *adj.* earthly 250  
**escape** *v.* escape 782,923,1127,1365,2220,etc. *p.t.* **escapad** 2227 **scaped** 2669  
**especyally** *adv.* especially 3052  
**esquiers** *n.pl.* squiers 3052,3094  
**ete** *p.t.* ate *sg.* 435 *pl.* 2456,2457 *p.t.pl.* **eten** 59,3432; *p.p.* 3424  
**eten** *see ete*  
**eternall** *adj.* eternal 1827  
**euer** *adv.* ever 151,344,379,768,1086,etc.  
**euerychon** *pron.* each and every one 757,2838  
**Eukaryste** *n.* eucharist 635  
**euell,evyll,evell,** *adj.* evil 20,26,1839,2344  
**evell** *see euell*  
**even** *n.* evening or day before 1960,3153,3172,3312 **xij even** Twelfth Night 1960  
**evyll** *see euell*  
**exemple** *n.;* *in exemple of* as a warning 2294  
**exile** *v.* banish 47,410,1491,1493,1839,etc.  
**exile** *n.* exile 1494  
**extorcioners** *n.pl.* extortioners 2373

## F

- (f)fader** *n.* father 38,95,99,102,104,107,etc.  
**faile** *v.* fail 950  
**faine** *see* **fayne**  
**faire** *see* **fayre**  
**faire** *adv.* courteously 663  
**fairest** *see* **fayre**  
**faith** *n.* faith (Christian) 1386  
**fayne,faine** *adj.* joyful, pleased 522,818,906,1018; content 524,2267,2720,3320,3434; anxious 2026,2087,2538  
**fayre,faire,ffare** *adj.* beautiful 117,153,224,265,571,etc.; just 1939 *superl.* **fairest** 744  
**falen** *see* **fill**  
**fallyth** *see* **fill**  
**fals(e)** *adj.* wicked 1081; unfaithful 2382,2602; false 2502,2546,2579  
**fantasye** *n.*; *had grete fantasye in* felt a great liking for 1377-8  
**fast** *adv.*; *fast(e)* *be/by* near 500,2345,2888,3200,3456; securely 974; quickly 3346  
**fatte** *adj.* healthy, well-fed 60  
**faught** *see* **fyght**  
**fealte** *n.* fealty 405,576,643,2168,2297,etc.  
**feche** *v.* bring back, fetch 605,947,2022,2232  
**felawes,felowes** *n.pl.* companions, fellows 758,1384,1410  
**felaschip(p)** *see* **fela(w)schip(p)**  
**fela(w)schip(p)** *n.* fellowship 61,137,650,654,1042,1394,2667  
**felde** *n.* field, meadow 2998; field of battle 3080,3330,3342,3351; *hadde the feld* was victorious, gained the victory 2680,2729  
**fell** *see* **fill**  
**felowes** *see* **felawes**  
**felte** *refl.p.t.* felt 3278  
**(f)ferd(e)** *adj.* afraid 908,1435,2026,2086,2128,etc. **aferde** 2494  
**fer(d)e** *n.* fear 149,826,1006,3123  
**ferd(e)** *adj.* *see* **(f)ferd(e)**  
**ferst** *see* **fyrst**  
**fesician** *n.* physician 1066  
**feste** *n.* feast, banquet 10,11,24,1108,1217,etc.  
**fewe** *adj.* few 1483,1585  
**ffare** *see* **fayre**  
**ffleying** *vbl.n.* fleeing 2763  
**fforsoth,forsoth** *adv.* truly, indeed 1001,1951,3281,3338  
**ffound(e)ment** *see* **f(f)ound(e)ment**

**ffraunchesies, fraunchises** *n.pl.* special rights or privileges 2157,3030  
**(f)frende** *n.* friend 843,1939,1944,1982  
**ffrere, freres** *n.* friar 1065,2384,2877 **ffreres austeyne** Augustinian friars 3060  
**freres minores** Franciscan friars 3213-4 **white ffrere** Cistercian friars 2915-6  
**ffro** *see* **fro**  
**ffrute** *see* **frute**  
**ffull** *see* **full**  
**fight** *see* **fyght**  
**fill, fell** *p.t.* happened 302,516,750,1478,2308,etc.; *p.p.* **falen** 110 **fill, fell** *p.t.* fell 560,943,1949,2034,2736 **fallyth** *3s pres t* falls 988 **fell (at)** debate had a dispute 311-2,516,1458,2309 **fell asleep** 1949 **fell rich** 2034 **attacked** 2736  
**finde** *see* **fynde**  
**findyng** *n.* livelihood 2562  
**finger** *n.* finger 1886  
**fire** *n.* fire 1074,1077  
**first(e)** *see* **fyrste**  
**fyght, fight** *v.* fight 127,908,990,1205,1644,etc.; *p.t.* **faught** 565,763,1046,1118, 1263, etc. **fought** 1208 *pres.part.* **fyghting** 995  
**fynde, finde** *v.* find 993,1476,1643,1648; *p.t.* **fonde** 113,153,690,1846,2314,etc. **founde** 995,1508,1543  
**fyrst, first(e)** *adv.* first 1,98,584,1515,1757,etc.; **ferst** 53; *adj.* 343,473,615,623,768,etc.  
**fischers** *n.pl.* fishermen 1846  
**flammes** *n.pl.* flames 1089; ...*of fir* a tongue of fire 1077  
**fled** *see* **fle(e)**  
**flede** *see* **fle(e)**  
**fledde** *see* **fle(e)**  
**fle(e)** *v.* retreat, flee 1013,2087,2629; to fly 3387; *p.t.* **fled(de), flede** 73,371,566,567,682, 699,926,etc. *p.p.* **fled** 1162; *imp.* **fle** 1013  
**flemynges** *n.pl.* Flemish 2939  
**flesche** *n.* flesh 59  
**flyght** *n.* flight 365  
**foisone** *see* **fusone**  
**foles** *n.pl.* fools 986  
**foli** *n.* foolishness 1831  
**folk(e)** *n.* people 497,629,1003,1355,1370,etc.  
**folle** *n.* fool 957  
**folowed** *p.t.* pursued 568,1113,1169,1201,1271,etc.  
**folowyng** *adj.* next, following 3039,3248  
**fonde** *see* **fynde**  
**for** *prep.* for 22,26,34,49,144; on account of 149  
**(f)for** *conj.* because 35,99,192,199,293,614,etc.  
**forasmoche** *conj.* seeing that 2093,2259, 2696  
**forbarreth** *3sg.pres.ind.* prohibits 2522  
**forbecause, -bycause** *conj.* because 173,353,1742,1760,2580



**forbere** v. refrain (from) 1923  
**forbycause** *see* **forbecause**  
**foresaid** *see* **(a)for(e)said**  
**forest** n. forest 200,202,2043,2205  
**foreuer** adv. forever 130,375,412,525,598,etc.  
**foreuermore** adv. henceforth 525-6,1185,1946  
**forlay** p.t. committed fornication with 1541  
**forme** n. physical shape 1925; manner 2132,2143  
**forsake** v. abandon 780,1572; p.t. **forsoke** 169,197  
**forsoke** *see* **forsake**  
**forsoth** *see* **fforsoth**  
**forth** *see* **furth**  
**fote** n. foot; *light of foot* 1836  
**fotemen** n. foot soldiers 3366  
**fought** *see* **fyght**  
**foule** adj. ugly 1713  
**foule** adv. harshly, severely 26  
**founded** p.t. founded 2878  
**(f)found(e)ment** n. foundation 559,983  
**foure** adj. four 2294  
**fraunchises** *see* **ffraunchesies**  
**frely** adv. willingly, openhandedly 2253  
**frende** *see* **(f)frende**  
**Frensche** adj. French 734,2721,2770,2777,3308,etc.  
**freres** *see* **ffrere**  
**freschest** adj. *sup.* most vigorous, least timid; ...*to fight* 2541  
**f(f)ro** adv. (away) from 73,88,112,122,276,etc.  
**f(f)rute** n. fruit 58; best of 2878  
**f(f)ull** adv. completely, fully 341,431,550,817,895,etc.  
**fullfilled** p.p. fulfilled 1522  
**furth,forth** adv. forward, onward, forth 50,97,393,563,565,etc.  
**furth** adj. fourth 1534  
**fusone** n. success, headway; *toke fusone* were successful 1268; *had no more foisone* had no more success 2681

## G

**gadering** n. assembly, meeting 3289  
**gad(e)red** p.t. and p.p. mustered 1292,2224,2227,2970,3227,etc.  
**gadred** *see* **gad(e)red**  
**gaf(f)e** *see* **gyf(f)e**  
**gardine** n. garden 2177  
**garte** *see* **gerre**

**Gascoynes** *n.pl.* natives of Gascony 2862  
**gate** *n.* street 493  
**gate,yates** *n.* gate 1654,3019,3421  
**gate** *p.t.* *see* **get(t)(e)**  
**geaunt** *n.* giant 1039,1244,1252,1253,1638,etc.  
**gefe** *see* **giffe**  
**gei** *see* **go(o)**  
**gentill** *adj.* kind 2837  
**gentilmen** *n.pl.* gentlemen 1869  
**gentilwoman** *n.* woman of noble birth 963,2271; *pl.* **gentylwomen** 3380  
**gentylwomen** *see* **gentilwoman**  
**gerre** *v.* go 993; *p.t.* **garte** 1008 **gerte** 994  
**gerte** *see* **gerre**  
**get** *see* **get(t)(e)**  
**gete** *ee* **get(t)(e)**  
**geten** *see* **get(t)(e)**  
**get(t)e** *v.* beget (a child) 1084,1088; gather 326,654,2111,3179; get 1043,1605; capture 2941; *p.t.* **gate** begot (a child) 63,90,94,167,1119,etc.; gathered 654,699,809; ...*him so beloued* got himself so beloved (by s.o.)338; *p.p.* **geten** begotten 68; gathered 740; **goten** begotten 183,890,1320,1867; captured 2000; put in 1048  
**geven** *see* **gyf(f)e**  
**giffe** *see* **gyf(f)e**  
**gif(f)tes** *n.pl.* gifts 1959; bribes 811,1127,2547  
**giftes** *see* **gif(f)tes**  
**gyfe** *see* **gyf(f)e**  
**gyf(f)e,giffe,gefe** *v.* give 133,411,726,849,853,etc.; *p.t.* **gaf(f)e** 49,85,176,274, 413,598,etc.; *p.p.* **geven** 2772 **yeven** 662; *yoused batell* 3078  
**gygantes** *n.pl.* giants 64  
**gyrdell** *n.* belt 1641  
**glad** *adj.* glad 845  
**glawnced** *p.t.* struck a glancing blow 106  
**glose** *v.* use deceptive words, flatter 254  
**gnawing** *pres.part.* chewing 3431  
**god(de)** *n.* God 199,431,782,959,1266,1405,etc.  
**goddes** *poss.* *see* **goddis**  
**goddes** *n.pl.* *see* **goode** *n.*  
**goddis,goddess** *n.poss.* God's 1519,3225  
**godys** *see* **goode** *n.*  
**gold(e)** *n.* gold 342,867,1671,2418,3000,etc.; currency 1477,2246,2836,3387  
**gone** *see* **go(o)**  
**gonne** *n.* cannon 3315,3319,3500  
**gonne stones** *n.pl.* cannon balls 3315  
**go(o),gei** *v.* go (and do sth.) 127,938,1041,1158,1653,2327,etc.; go out 133; *lette...goo* release 1592,2252; *imp.gei* 2327,2328; *p.t.* **went** 53,112,131,145,162,etc.; *p.p.* **gone** 147,865,1280,1542,1862,etc.

**goode** *n.* benefit 258,1885; *pl.* goods, belongings 2111,2611; *pl.* **goddes** 2705  
**godys** 2119,2148  
**good(e),guode** *adj.* good, strong 70,557,1209,1219,1737,etc.; beneficial  
 620,1592; respectable (in quantity) 2182; honorable  
 401,539,592,1296,2438,etc.; *comp.* **better** better  
 315,811,2176,2180,3300; *sup.* **best** best 245,3375  
**gosshep** *n.* godparent 1729  
**goten** *see* **get(t)(e)**  
**gouerenours** *n.pl.* governors 2348  
**gouerned** *p.t.* and *p.p.* ruled 341,3458  
**governauns** *n.* governance, rule 3140  
**grace** *n.* grace, favour 128,1528,1623; mercy 1893,1895,1932,2668,2757, etc.  
**grane** *n.* crop of grain 2706  
**grasse** *n.* grass 3431  
**graunt** *n.* official permission 2851  
**graunt** *pt* and *pp* *see* **graunt(ed)**  
**graunt(ed)** *p.t.* and *p.p.* permitted, allowed 548,848,854,878,881,etc.  
**graue** *v.* engrave 611  
**graue** *n.* grave 1843  
**greke** *n.* Greek 72,686  
**grene** *n.* green 2492  
**grete** *adj.* large 294,321,509,610,1624,etc.; mighty 5,64,69,136,235,etc.; elaborate  
 10, 24,811,1108; noble 35,114,641,659,738,etc.; much 115,  
 281,302,321,1000,etc.; significant 646,661,1073,1299,1320,etc.; *grete of*  
 important in 2972; *sup.* most significant **grete** 1478-9 **gret(t)est**  
 2765,2854  
**grete Brutane** *n.* Great Britain 735,785  
**gretest** *see* **grete**  
**grete willed** *see* **wyll** *n.*  
**gretly** *adv.* greatly 61,120,814  
**greved** *adj.* aggrieved 3302  
**grounde** *n.* (portion of) land 411,597,599,849,853,etc.  
**grete deth** *n.* the plague 1497  
**growynge** *n.* growth 2706  
**guode** (benefit) *see* **goode** *n.*  
**guode** *adj.* *see* **good(e)** *adj.*

## H

**had** *see* **haue**  
**hafe** *see* **haue**  
**halfe** *n.* half 49,1291,1936,2174,3027  
**halfe penny** *n.* halfpenny 2173  
**halle** *n.* hall 3033

**halowed** *p.t.* hallowed, kept as holy 3352  
**hand** *n.* hand 84,595,694,703,789,1650,etc.  
**hang** *v.* hang 2293; *p.t.* **hing** 3397; *p.p.* **hanged** 2300,2308,2370,2394,3395  
**hanged** *see* **hang**  
**hangyng** *n.* hanging 2526  
**hapened** *see* **happed**  
**happed,hap(p)ened** *p.t.* happened 781,1072,1343,1816,1861,etc.  
**happened** *see* **happed**  
**hard** *adj.* difficult 923  
**hardi** *adj.* fearless, strong 1143  
**harlottes** *n.pl.* scoundrels 2930  
**harme** *n.* harm 1245,2265,2467,2540  
**harte** *n.* male red deer 106  
**haruestmen** *n.pl.* harvest men 3420  
**hast** *see* **haue**  
**hate** *n.* hate 2710  
**hated** *p.t.* hated 1870  
**haue,have** *v.* have 7,19,24,33,45,etc. *inf.* 19,45,141,155,161,827,etc. *1 s*  
*pres.t.indic.* **haue** 1828; *2s pres.t.indic.* **hast** 1493,2327,2521;  
*3spres.t.indic.* **hath** 152, **hat** 1467; *3p.pres.t.indic.* **have** 33 **haue**  
1382,1424; *2 s.pres.t.subj.* **have** 958; *3 s.pres.t.subj.* **have** 2407; *imp.*  
**haue** 1494; *p.t.* **hed** 2886; *pt and pp* **had(d)(e)** 7,24,66,75,130,293,etc.  
**hauen,haven** *n.* port, haven 752,2713  
**have** *see* **haue**  
**haven** *see* **hauen**  
**he** *3sg.pron.nom.* he 21,25,28,45,47,etc. **a** 10; **his** *poss.* his 7,12,13,20,22,etc. **hes**  
1178,1258,2835 **is** 1367; **him,hym** *3sg.masc.pron. obl.,him*  
19,23,24,25,29, etc.; *reflexive* 93,139,148,155,1289,etc.  
**hede** *see* **hed(d)e**  
**hed(d)(e)** *n.* head 343,569,816,819,1074,1253,etc.; **heedes** *pl.* 2067  
**heedes** *see* **hed(d)e**  
**heir(e)** *see* **eire**  
**held(e)** *see* **hold(e)**  
**heled** *p.p.* healed 2552  
**hell** *see* **hill**  
**help** *n.* relief 356,511,1059,1549,1651  
**help(e)** *v.* help 28,79,520,803,846,etc.  
**hem** *see* **thei**  
**hepes** *n.pl.* piles, heaps 3348  
**her** *see* **sche**  
**heraldes,herold** *n.pl.* heralds 1621; *herold of armes* 1642  
**herd(e)** *p.t. and p.p.* heard 45,265,658,687,693,3336,etc.; *herd(e) tell (of)* heard  
about 77,119,658,1062-3,1702,1721,etc.  
**here** *see* **thei**  
**here** *adv.* here 38,841,1187,1499,1502,etc.  
**here (her)** *see* **sche**  
**here (their)** *see* **thei**

**heres** (heir) *see eire*  
**hereof** *adv.* of this matter 1024  
**heris** *see eire*  
**herkyn** *v.* to hear about 3117  
**herold** *see heraldes*  
**herold of armes** *see heraldes*  
**herte** *n.* heart 818,1337,1745  
**heuen** *see heven*  
**heven, heuen** *n.* Heaven 1653,1945  
**hid(e)** *refl.p.t.* to hide 132,2536  
**hider** *see hidre*  
**hidre,hider** *adv.* hither 772,1043,1500,1877  
**hight** *n.* height 611,3349; *on hyght* loudly 3344  
**hight** *p.t.* *see hyght.*  
**hild(e)** *see hold(e)*  
**hill(e),hell** *n.* hill 132,914,1247,1252,2558,etc.  
**him** *see he*  
**him** (himself) *see himselfe*  
**himself(e),hymself** *pron.refl.* himself 57,150,776-7,932,1239,1287,etc. **him** *refl.* 555,1067  
**hing** *see hang*  
**hire** *see sche*  
**his** *see he*  
**hye** *see hyght*  
**hyght,hight** *p.t.* called (himself) 242,307,327,328,329,642,etc.  
**hyght** *adj.* high (temperament) 60; high (height) 1818,3344 **hye** 1818  
**hym** *see he*  
**hymself** *see himself*  
**hold(e)** *v.* take charge of, maintain 129,374,412,1183,2005,etc; hold 115,1091,1826; uphold 379,1881; control 459,1571,2159; consider 2343; hold Parliament 2374,2902,3160; *holde out* keep out 930; *holde Scollys* hold classes 1400; *held him* stayed 2670; *p.t.* **held(e)** 89,286,292,319,324,etc; **hild(e)** 459,2159; *p.p.* **holde(n)** 115,379,1881,2316,2583,2902,etc.  
**holden** *see hold(e)*  
**hole** *adj.* whole 435,3260  
**holy** *adj.* holy 690,1362,1385,1699,1737,etc.  
**(the) holy lande** *n.* The Holy Land 1934,2059,2236,2242  
**homage** *n.* a pledge (money, goods, or service) of allegiance 1225,1230,2027,2168, 2296,etc.  
**home** *n.* home 12,208,528,578,1158,etc.  
**homward** *adv.* homeward 406  
**hondes** *n.pl.* hounds 3424  
**honoure** *n.* honour 1393,1496  
**hoode** *n.* hood 2927  
**hoote** *adj.* hot 236  
**hoped** *p.t.* hoped 2356,2505

**horncastell** *n.* Horncastle 884  
**hors** *see* **horses**  
**hors(es)** *n.pl.* horses 3347,3424  
**horsebakke** *n.* horseback 3001  
**hose** *n.* leggings 919  
**hostages** *n.pl.* hostages 1592  
**hostes** *see* **(o)oste**  
**housband(e),-ys** *n.* husband 16,17,23,33,36,etc. **housband** 1118  
**housbandys** *see* **housband(e)**  
**houses** *n.pl.* houses 2118; *house(s),howse(s) of religion* housing for clergy 1275,2042,2171; court 1188; **howse** 2171 **howses** 2042  
**houshold** *n.* the king's household 628  
**how(e)** *interrog.* how 1,68,108,246,248,255,319,etc.  
**howse(s)** *see* **houses**  
**howsyng** *n.* housing 3327  
**hungyr** *see* **hungre**  
**hungre,-gyr** *n.* starvation 1482,2456,2538,3197,3426,etc.  
**hungre** *n.* Hungary 1806,1862  
**in/on hunt(t)ying** *n.* hunting 105,200,815,1738  
**hurt(e)** *n.* damage 882,1317

## I

**I,Y** *pron.* I 34,725,726,727,987,etc.; *poss.pron.* **ma,my** my 250,254,979,981, 2581,etc.; *me* *pron.obl.* me 34,250,1829,2139,2582,etc.  
**iche,ichon,yche** *pron.* each 39,43,471,472,918,etc.; *det.* 12,471,472,640,1374  
**ichon** *see* **iche**  
**Iland,Ile,Island** *n.* an island 51,413,1170,1390,1658  
**Ile** *see* **Iland**  
**in(ne)** *prep.* in 3,16,48,50,62,etc.  
**incarnacon** *n.* incarnation 630-1,1388,1425  
**inhabite** *p.t.* inhabited 1507,3329  
**inheretaunce** *n.* inheritance 3296  
**inheriter** *n.* heir 336 *pl* **inheritours** 1807  
**iniuries** *n.pl.* insults 2631  
**inought** *adj.* enough 1930  
**into** *prep.* into 32,78,84,112,145,etc.  
**Iresch,-men** *n.* Irish 2113,2116  
**Ireschmen** *see* **Iresch**  
**Irislangage** *n.* the Irish language, Gaelic 607  
**issu(e),ysshu** *n.* children 213,219,307,533,705,793,etc.

**isshued** *p.t.* **isshued oute** came out 3421  
**it,yt** *pron.* it 13,37,55,56,89,etc.  
**yche** *see* **iche**  
**ys** *see* **be**  
**ysshu** *see* **isshu(e)**  
**yt** *see* **it**

## J

**jewellys** *n.pl.* treasures 2419  
**Jewes** *n.pl.* Jews 2305  
**joye** *n.* joy 391,1019  
**jugged** *p.t.* condemned 2985  
**juggement** *n.* judgement 2312  
**jugge** *n.* judge 2514,3257  
**justices** *n.pl.* Justices 2301,2372  
**justinges** *n.pl.* jousting 1220,2991

## K

**kechyn** *n.* kitchen 1340  
**kepe** *v.* keep 166,758,826,1340,1633, etc.; uphold 384,1504,2820; look after 830,1334,1808,2479; protect 941; control, rule 1203,1284,1291,1315,1686,etc. *p.t.* **kept(e)** 384,830,1340,1504,1808,etc.; *p.t. and p.p.* **keped** 166,1633,1846,2479,3423  
**keped** *see* **kepe**  
**keper** *n.* guard 1126,1197,2506,2837,3025,etc.  
**kepyng,keping,kepyng** *n.* charge 691,825,1674  
**keping** *see* **kepyng**  
**kept(e)** *see* **kepe**  
**kessed** *p.t.* kissed 875  
**kette** *see* **kytte**  
**king** *see* **ky(i)ng**  
**kingdome** *n.* kingdom 284,1335-6,1644,2856  
**kit** *see* **kytte**  
**ky(i)ng,king** *n.* king 4,9,10,12,17,75,187,222,etc. **kyngis** *pl.poss.* 137  
**kyn** *n.* kin 1087  
**kyng** *see* **ky(i)ng**



**kyngis** *see* **ky(i)ng**  
**kytte** *v.* cut 41; *p.t.* **kette** 316 **kit** 855  
**knaue** *n.*; *knaue childe* boy 97  
**knees** *n.pl.* knees 2987,3046  
**kneled,-yd** *p.t.* kneeled 868,1622,1825,2137,2275,etc.  
**knelyd** *see* **kneled**  
**knew** *see* **knowe**  
**knyfe** *see* **knyf(f)e**  
**knyf(f)e** *n.* knife 40,919,1744,2178  
**knyght** *n.* knight 70,73,301,324,539, etc. **knyth** 716,873  
**knyth** *see* **knyght**  
**knowe** *v.* know 245; *p.t.* **knew** 318 **vnknownen** *see* **vnknownen**; **wele knownen** *see* **wele** *p.p.* 960  
**knowlech** *see* **knowlych**  
**knowlych,-ech** *n.* knowledge 20,1516  
**kouth** *see* **couth**

## L

**labored** *see* **labore(r)d**  
**labore(r)d** *p.t.* *labored to* exerted influence upon 895,2415  
**labour,labo(u)re** *n.* labour 2193,2413,2529,2559,2812  
**laboure** *see* **labour**  
**lad** *see* **lad(de)**  
**lad(de)** *p.t.* led 827,2072,2299,2999; *p.p.* **lad(e)** 924,1746,2014,2370,2394,etc.  
*p.t. and p.p.* **led(de)** 2338,2640  
**lade** *see* **lad(de)**  
**ladies** *n.pl.* noblewomen 3380  
**laid,leid** *refl.p.t.* laid 1949,1952; *p.t.* *leid(e)* *segge (there)to* laid siege to 1105,2088, 2313,2464,2674,etc.  
**lamentacione** *n.*; *made grete lamentacione*, lamented 1486  
**lancastre** *n.* Lancaster 2508,2551,2575,2768,2769,etc.  
**land(e),londe** *n.* country 1,3,51,54,66,111,etc. *and see* **(the) holy lande**  
**landed** *p.t.* landed 3106  
**langage** *n.* language 607,872,1501,1502  
**laste** *n.*; *at the laste*, in the end 323,2053,2284  
**lasted** *p.t.* lasted 11,857,1220,2764  
**laughter** *n.* laughter 1923; *toke vp a grete laughter*, burst out laughing 1917  
**law** *n.* law 384,1504,1730,1880,1906,etc.  
**lay** *see* **lye**  
**laymen** *n.pl.* laity 3093  
**leches** *n.pl.* physicians 1309

**lefe** v. leave (an occupation) 802; *p.t.* **left(e)** left behind 72,201,1873,2643, 2835,etc.; *p.t.* **left(e)** left in care of 690,828,1284,1290,1806 *p.p.* **lefte** remaining 1498,2741,2760  
**left(e)** (leave *p.t.*) *see* **lefe**  
**legate** *n.* papal legate 627,634,2121,2193,2197  
**legemen** *see* **legmenis**  
**legmenis, legemen** *n.pl.* liegemen 2341,3435  
**leid** *see* **laid**  
**lemmans** *n.pl.* sweethearts 2441  
**lenger** *adv.* longer 272,2853  
**lepre** *n.* leprosy 3259  
**lept** *p.t.* lept 149  
**lettres** *n.pl.* letters 18,21,496,520,951,etc.  
**lese** v. lose 759  
**lest** *conj.* lest 827  
**let(t)e** v. leave 1464; *p.t.* **let(t)e** let 19,3324; behaved 814; allowed 1126; *as aux.* **let(t)e** 39,41,1930; *as causative* **let(t)e** 184,610,968,1275  
**lete** *see* **let(t)e**  
**letted** *p.t.* prevented 725  
**leuacion** *n.* elevation (of the consecrated Host and chalice in mass) 1916,1925  
**leue,leve** *n.* permission 133,2649,2656; *toke leave at* took leave of 2686  
**leve** v. leave 1823  
**leve** *n* *see* **leue**  
**ley** *see* **lye**  
**lyen** *see* **lye**  
**licence** *n.* permission 1393,1400  
**lieth** *see* **lye**  
**life** (life) *see* **lyf(f)e** *n.*  
**like** *see* **lyke** *adj.*  
**likenesse** *see* **lykenes(se)**  
**linage** *see* **lynage**  
**lith** *see* **lye**  
**livelode** *see* **lyvelod(e)**  
**lye** v. lie (down) 1070,3280,3348,3431; dwell 1947,3041; be buried 191,216,221,225, 232,etc. lie with, have intercourse with 757,977,1117; *3s.pres.t.* **lieth, lyeth** 191,216,221,225,232,etc. **lith** 347; *3p.pres.t.* **lye** 764; *p.t.* **lay** 975,1117,1247,1641,2913,etc. **ley** 1070; *p.p.* **lyen** 977  
**lyen** *see* **lye**  
**lyeth** *see* **lye**  
**lyeutenaunt** *n.* deputy 3098  
**lyfde** *see* **lyf(f)e** v.  
**lyfe** *n* *see* **lyf(f)e** *n*  
**lyfe** v *see* **lyf(f)e** v  
**lyf(f)e,life** *n.* life 89,186,247,1224,1307,etc.; *on lyve* *adj.* alive 1311,2760,3227  
**lyf(f)e,lyve,liffe** v. live 746, 2174,2563; *p.t.* **lyfde** 57 **lyved** 186,390,1477,1898; *on lyve* alive 1311, 2760,3227  
**lyfte** *p.t.* lifted 1926

**lyght** *adj.*; *lyght of fote*, light-footed 1836  
**lyke,like** *adj.* same 16,251; *adv.* like 1065,1074; *adv.* *lyke as as* (if) 1050,2654  
**lyke** *v.* please 840,3394,3397  
**lykenes(se),likenesse** *n.* likeness 62,1117,1926  
**lyme** *n.* limb; *vppon lyffe and lyme* on pain of death 1224  
**lynage,linage** *n.* lineage 113,125,318  
**lytell** *adj.* little,small 1658,2731,3231; *lytell Brutan(e),lytell Bretane* Brittany 728,783,791,828,1009,etc.  
**lyter** *n.* litter 1307  
**(on) lyve** *see* **lyf(f)e** *n*  
**lyved** *see* **lyf(f)e** *v.*  
**lyvelod(e),livelode** *n.* soldiers and supplies 274,276,1215, 2110,2427,2876,etc.  
**loffe** *n.* loaf 2172,2175  
**logeaunce** *n.* allegiance 2590  
**loged** *p.t.* accommodated 3401  
**loke** *v.* consider 255; look 1080,1640  
**loked** *p.p.* locked 974  
**lollardrye** *n.* Lollardy 3411  
**londe** *see* **land(e)**  
**long** *adj.* tall 1639; long 2326; *long tyme* for a long time 361; *as longe as*, *see as conj.*  
**long(e)** *adv.* (for) a long time 943,1407,2276,2871  
**lord(e)** *n.* lord 74,114,125,126,157,etc. **Lord** Christ 540,769,1472,1524,1636, 1749,etc.; **lordis,lordys** *gen.sing.* 821,1524,1539; **lordes** *gen.pl.* 1869  
**loste** *p.t.* and *p.p.* lost 2065,2097  
**loue,love** *n.* love 762,1885,2551,2576,2709 agreement 912  
**loue** *v.* love 28,245,246,249,250,253,etc.; *p.t.* and *p.p.* **loued** 256 **loved** 1329,1485  
**lovid** 249; 3 *sg.pres.* **lovyth** 1944  
**love** *see* **loue**  
**loved** *see* **loue**  
**lovid** *see* **loue**  
**lovyth** *see* **loue**  
**lowde** *adj.* loud 3341  
**lowly** *adv.* humbly 1892

## M

**ma** *see* **I**  
**madden** *adj.* mad 687  
**made** *see* **make**  
**maide** *n.* maiden, girl 1770

**maiden, mayden** *n.* maiden, girl 5,153,162,211,385,760,etc.  
**maire** *n.* mayor 2926,3020,3024,3373  
**mayden** *see* **maiden**  
**make** *v.* make 13,129,134,140,158,etc.; organise 10,23; build, found 209,211,224,227, 230,etc.; *as causative* 96,119,195,764,1928,etc.; *p.t. and p.p.* **made** 10,13,23,96,140; *pres.part.* **makyng** 942  
**makyng** *vbl.n.*; *in makyng* being constructed 942  
**maliciously** *adv.* maliciously 3022  
**man** *n.* man 48,52,63,118,125,etc.; liegeman 374; **mannys** *gen.sg.* (generic) of man 61; *pl.* **men** 72,113, 372,407,681,961,etc.; people (in general) 76,164,331,405,449,etc.; liegemen 127; retainers, soldiers 72,137,150,201,360,etc.; *men of armes* armed soldiers 1989,2557,2604-5,2677  
**maner** *see* **man(n)er**  
**manly** *adv* virilely 3422  
**man(n)er** *n.* manner, way 163,574; type 917,2884  
**mannys** *see* **man**  
**many** *adj.* many 393,441,553,680,681,etc.  
**marc** *n.* mark 2115,2135,2145,2146,2455,etc.  
**marchaunt** *n.* merchant 2596  
**marche** *n.* border (area) 2321,2397,2484,2506,2808,etc.  
**mariage** *n.* marriage 85,258  
**maried** *see* **mary**  
**mary** *v.* marry 603,1335,2261; *p.t.* and *p.p.* **maried** 9,244,259,269,1339,3012  
**marques** *n.* marquis 2951,2974,3064,3071  
**marschall** *n* marshall 3360  
**marter** *see* **martir** *pt and pp*  
**martir** *n.* martyr 768,1699,1735,1964  
**martir,-ter** *v.* martyr 586,680 *p.t.* and *p.p.* martyred 767,1566,1575,2558  
**martirdome** *n.* martyrdom 2208  
**martymasse** *n.* Martinmas 1935  
**masse** *n.* mass 1882,1915,1918,1935,3336  
**master** *n.* leader 408,833; Master 2530,2533  
**mastres** *n.* leader, mistress 748  
**mater** *n.* affair 3023; dispute 3081  
**may** *v* may 841,1014,2440,3139  
**me** *see* **I**  
**meanetyme** *see* **meneteyme**  
**meany** *see* **meyne**  
**meyne,meyny(e)** *n.* company, retinue 519,596,733,757,763,1158,etc. **meany** 82  
**meney** 274,276  
**meyny(e)** *see* **meyne**  
**medecyne** *n.* potion 1067  
**medewe** *n.* meadow 2155  
**men** *see* **man**  
**men of arms** *see* **man**  
**meney** *see* **meyne**

**menetyme, meanetyme** *n.*; (*in*)(*the*) *me(a)netyme* meantime 1551, 2237, 2783  
**merciable, mercyable** *adj.* merciful, forgiving 449, 1891  
**mercy** *n.* compassion, mercy 1028, 1441, 1494, 1830, 1892, etc.  
**mercyable** *see* **merciable**  
**merveld** *see* **mervel(e)d**  
**mervel(e)d** *p.t.* marvelled 944, 1255  
**mervell** *see* **mervyle**  
**mervyle, mervell** *n.* marvel, amazing thing 1000, 1272, 1918  
**message** *n.* message 1231  
**messangers** *see* **messengers**  
**messengers, messangers** *n.pl.* messengers 951, 952, 961, 965, 1222, etc.  
**mete** *n.* at *mete* at table 2170  
**mete** *v.* assemble 18, 913 ; *p.t.* **met(t)e** engaged in battle 364, 370, 523, 552, 594, etc.;  
*p.t.* **met(t)e** happened upon, encountered 406, 433, 1655  
**mette** *see* **mete** *v.*  
**meveable goddes** *n.pl.* moveable goods, personal property 2704-5  
**meved, moved** *p.t.* *meved/moved warre/wer(r)e* made war  
1615, 2113, 2298, 2307, 2319  
**middys** *n.* midst 563  
**million** *n.* *million of golde* a million pieces of gold 2836  
**minores (freres)** *see* **ffrere**  
**miracle** *n.* miracle 1467, 1618, 1627, 1748, 2550, etc.  
**misbeleve** *n.* heresy 2427  
**mischefe** *n.* misfortune 110  
**miscreant** *adj.* infidel, non-Christian 1381  
**mitered** *p.p.* mitred 3390  
**my** *see* **I**  
**mychelmasse** *n.* Michaelmas 3152  
**myght, mygth** *p.t.* could, might 718, 799, 849, 851, 877, 1709, etc.  
**myght** *n.* strength, military might 325, 458  
**myghti** *see* **myghty**  
**myghty, myghti** *adj.* strong, capable 207, 322, 886  
**mygth** *see* **myght** *p.t.*  
**myle** *n.* mile 1948 *pl.* **myle** 1936, 1950  
**myned** *p.t.* dug under the foundations of 2001  
**myse** *n.pl.* mice 3425  
**mo** *see* **mo(o)**  
**mo(o)** *n.* more 916, 2227, 3369  
**moche** *adj.* much, many, a great quantity of 145, 174, 370, 387, 391, etc.; huge 1246  
**moche** *n.* much, a large part of 1161; *made moche of* treated well 506, 829; *so moche* so much 1246  
**moche** *adv.* greatly 246, 248, 253, 255, 1485, etc.; to a great extent 492  
**moder** *n.* mother 98, 100, 315, 388, 689, etc.  
**mokked** *p.t.* mocked 257  
**momyng** *n.* mummer's play 3176  
**monye, money** *n.* money 2595, 2719, 3010  
**monk(e)** *n.* monk 795, 801, 1757, 2045, 2171, etc.

**monthes** *n.pl.* months 487,2053  
**money** *see* **monye**  
**more** *adj.comp.* more 699,1007,1268,2681; *adv.comp.* more 247,249,2008,2458, 3348,etc.  
**morne** *n.* morning 3146  
**mornyng** *n* morning 2344  
**morowe** *see* **mor(r)ow**  
**mor(r)ow,morowe** *n.* morrow 44,1121,1206,1653,2167,etc.  
**morsell** *n.* bite, mouthful 436  
**mortalite** *n.* loss of life 1482  
**mortall** *adj.* mortal 1828  
**morter** *n.* cement, mortar 949,984  
**most(e)** *adj.supl.* greatest 925,1106,1188,1993,2505  
**most** *adv.* most 1188  
**moste** *p.t.* must 1420 **must** 3281  
**mounte** *n.* mountain, hill 1039,1248; **mount joye** 1280  
**mourne** *v.* to mourn 2440  
**mouth** *n.* mouth 1075  
**moved** *see* **meved**  
**mulery** *adj.* legitimate 1906  
**multitud(e)** *n.* host, army 509,2464  
**must** *see* **moste**

## N

**nacon** *see* **nac(i)on**  
**nac(i)on,nacyons** *n.* nation 734,1189,1493  
**nacyons** *see* **nac(i)on**  
**name** *n.* name 55,210,415,929,1030,etc.  
**named** *p.t.* named 54  
**nature** *n.* constitution 60  
**nece** *n.* niece 94  
**nekkes** *n.pl.* necks 2756  
**ner** *prep.* near 1246  
**neuer** *adv.* never 28,34,141,258,434,etc.  
**neuermore** *adv.* nevermore 1157  
**neuerthelesse** *adv.* nevertheless 165-6  
**neuew** *see* **neveue**  
**neveue,neuew,neuew** *n.* nephew, or kinsman 517,712,1283,1313,1350,etc  
**neuew** *see* **neveue**  
**new(e)** *adj.* new 863,1552,3353  
**new** *adv.* newly 1559  
**next(e)** *adj.* next 331,2315,3157,3294

**next(e)** *adv.* next, immediately 1945,1960,2021,3039  
**next** *prep.* next to 2900  
**Saint Nicholas Dai** *n.* St. Nicholas' Day 3464  
**nigramanser** *n.* necromancer, diviner 235  
**nygh** *adj* *see* **nygh(t)**  
**nygh(t)** *adj.* nigh 559,2527  
**nyght** *n.* night 43,943,1115,1119,1249,etc.; *vpon a nyght* one night 316; *on nyghtes* at night 991  
**nyght** *see* **nygh**  
**nygramansy** *n.* necromancy, divination 236  
**no** *adj.* no 48,52,414,434,602,etc.; *non* 533,639,710,1680,1852,etc.  
**no** *adv.* no 272,916,1268,2681,2852,etc. not 838  
**noble** *adj.* noble 3,4,69,72,583,etc.  
**nobley** *n.* nobility 1190  
**noght** *see* **no(u)ght**  
**number** *see* **no(w)mbre**  
**nombre** *see* **no(w)mbre**  
**nombred** *p.p.* numbered 2735  
**non** *adj.* *see* **no**  
**none** *pron.* none, no one 317,799,870,916,1144,etc.; no 871  
**none** *n.* nun 1306  
**nor** *conj.* nor 28,607,870,1230,1422,etc.  
**norysch** *v.* bring up 1806; *p.p.* 1740  
**Normayns** *n.pl.* Normans 1984  
**not** *see* **not(te)**  
**not(te)** *adv.* not 15,36,46,111,194,etc.  
**notable** *adj.* well-respected, famous 1191  
**nothing** *pron.* nothing 264,267,3328  
**notwithstandyng** *prep.* notwithstanding 1627,1983  
**no(u)ght** *pron.* *come of nought* come from nothing 2359; *sette nought* be had no faith in, 2417  
**now(e)** *adv.* nowadays 210,212,934,936,1395,etc.; at this moment 1006,1423,1490, 3338,etc.  
**no(w)mbre,number** *n.* *to the nombre* of amounting to 1260,2329,2541,2657, 3354,etc.

## O

**o** *indef.art.* one 996  
**o** *see* **o(on)**  
**obey** *see* **obbey**  
**ob(b)ey** *v.* obey 1421,1422,1426,1429,1619,etc.  
**of** *prep.* of 3,8,13,18,20,etc.



**of** *adv.* off 569  
**offence** *n.* crime 2278  
**offered** *p.t.* and *p.p.* proposed 2900; made a religious offering 3371  
**offys** *n.* office 3024  
**ofte** *adv.* often 813  
**olde** *adj.* old 104,184,271,499,1143,etc. *comp* **elder** 194,282 *superl.* **eldest** 8,14,31,53,214,218,etc.  
**on** *pron* see **on(e)**  
**on** *adj* see **o(on)**  
**on(e)** *adj.* see **assent n.**  
**on(e)** *prep.* on 44,103,130,175,364,1121; upon 243,413,432,700,750,814,etc.; in 163,618,3192,3344; *on hunttyng* see **hunt(t)yng**; *on lyve* see **lyf(f)e n.**; *on slepe* see **sleep n.**  
**on lyve** see **lyf(f)e**  
**on slepe** see **sleep n.**  
**oncle** *n.* uncle 1908  
**on(e),oon(e)** *pron.* one (person or thing) 64,188,242,307,326,1784,1951,etc.; someone 3337  
**one** *pron.* see **on(e)**  
**on(e)** *adj.* see **o(on)**  
**only** *adv.* only 576  
**o(on),on(e)** *adj.* one, a single 18,124,436,1850 *and see also* **assent(e) n.**; *o while* see **while**  
**oon** see **o(on)**  
**oon(e)** *pron.,* see **on(e)**  
**opened** *p.p.* opened 2557  
**openly** *adv.* openly 2451,3310  
**opon** see **vp(p)on**  
**opressed** *p.t.* oppressed 323  
**or** *conj.* ere, before 499,580,1095,1312,1948,etc.; or 2006,2323,2568, 2594,3221,etc.  
**ordeined** see **ordeyne**  
**ordeyne,ordeined** *v.* organise 2115,2557,2592 *p.t.* ordained 634; *p.t.* and *p.p.* decreed 2514,2774,2850,2903  
**ordinaunce** *n.* battle array 3314  
**ordoure** *n.* religious order 2114  
**oste** see **(o)oste**  
**(o)oste,hostes** *n.* army, host 360,404,522,551,563,1153,2361,etc.  
**oth(e)** *n.* oath 134,1157,1978,1983,2376  
**other** *pron.* other 189,194,471,473,641,etc.; *t(h)other,toher* the other 308,508, 835,1412,1076,etc.  
**other** *adj.* other 441,632,681,1087,1213,1427,etc.; *tother* 2749  
**otherwise** *adv.* otherwise 1337  
**ouer** *prep.* over 1533  
**ouercome** *v.* conquer 128,1092  
**ouerdrawing** *p.p.* drawn across 3348  
**ouerryden** *p.p.* trampled over (in battle),crushed 3335,3346

ought,aught *p.t.* was due 253; ought 1625  
 oure *pron.* our 33,36,38,41,125,etc.  
 oute *see* owte  
 outelawe *n.* outlaw 1812,1863  
 owne *adj.* own 67,247,396,595,742,etc.  
 owre *n.* hour 3349  
 owte,outu *adv.* out 30,54,108,133,209,etc.

## P

paie *see* pay  
 payment *n.* payment 2074  
 paynyme *n.* pagans 1031-2,1033,1259-60,1270,1357,etc.  
 palace *see* paleys  
 paleys,palace *n.* palace 1819,2252,3399,3402  
 palmar *see* palmer  
 palmer,-mar *n.* pilgrim 1655,1657,1660,1661  
 pardoned *p.t.* and *p.p.* pardoned 1895,2150,2277,2525; *p.p.* 2627  
 parliament *n.* parliament 2202,2269,2272,2291,2306,etc. **perliament** 3242  
 parte *see* perte  
 party *n.* part 354,1107,1993; side 2735,3362; party 2503  
 pas *see* pas(s)  
 pas(s) *v.* pass by 1279,3428; cross 2730; *p.t.* passed forth/furth proceeded 1211,3329,3375  
 pay,paie *v.* pay 376,402,547,2144,2904,etc.; *p.p.* **paied** 2751  
 pe(e)s,pese *n.* peace 89,190,421,424,428,etc.  
 penaunce *n.* penance 1755  
 people *n.pl.* people 110,121,122,303,767,etc.; soldiers 145,174,295, 370,387,etc.  
 pepe *see* pope  
 peramour *n.* lover 166,1288  
 peres *n.pl.* peers 2513  
 performe *v.* carry out 3144,3147  
 perliament *see* parliament  
 permisiones *n.pl.* permissions 2882  
 perpetuall *adj.* perpetual 3062  
 persone *n.* person 2970,3343,3368  
 perte,parte *n.* part, portion 925,1301,2704  
 pes *see* pe(e)s  
 pese *see* pees  
 peseable *adj.* peaceful 914

**pestilence** *n.* pestilence 1478-79,2759,2760,2854  
**pete** *see* **pite(e)**  
**peter pennes** *see* **petir pennes**  
**petir/peter pennes** *n.pl.* Peter's pence 1399,2850,2885  
**peyne** *n.* on *peyne of here logeaunce* as demanded by 2590  
**pike** *v.* dig 2327  
**pilgramage, pilgremage** *n.* pilgrimage 1667,1934,2553  
**pilgremage** *see* **pilgramage**  
**pilgreme** *n.* pilgrim 1884,1888,1937,1941,1955,etc.  
**pilled** *adj.* tonsured 2531  
**pite** *see* **pite(e)**  
**pite(e), pete** *n.* pity 130,413,450,1317,1382,1442,3195,etc.  
**place** *n.* place 613,840,1013,1394,1539,etc.  
**playne** *n.* plain 1049  
**plane** *adj.* in *plane batell* in regular open battle 82,313,340,392,655,etc.  
**pley** *v.* play 3300,3301,3316  
**pleynly** *adv.* plainly 27,1421  
**pledge** *n.*; in *pledge* as a pledge 2835; pledges 2837  
**plente** *n.* abundance 1500,2246  
**pointe** *n.* point 2929  
**pointed** *p.t.* pointed 3384  
**poison** *see* **poison(ne)**  
**poisond** *see* **poisoune**  
**poison(ne)** *n.* poison 1081,2186  
**poisound** *see* **poisoune**  
**poisoune** *v.* poison someone 1132,1133,1135; *p.p.* **poiso(u)nd** 897,1012  
**poissound** 1067  
**poissound** *see* **poisoune**  
**poynes** *n.pl.* accusations 2302,2303  
**pope** *n.* Pope 585,626,1376,1387,1527,etc. **pepe** 1376; **popes** *poss.sg.* 2130, 2133  
**pore** *n.* poor 323  
**portes** *n.pl.* ports 3084  
**poured** *p.t.* poured 3393  
**power** *n.* army 136,281,646,661,684,etc.  
**pownde** *n.* pound (currency) 575  
**praid** *see* **pray**  
**praied** *see* **pray**  
**praien** *see* **pray**  
**pray** *v.* petition 1617; *pres.pl.* **praien** 3339; *p.t.* **prai(e)d** 79,356,717,848,852, 1548,etc. **prayed** 1000,1404  
**preche** *v.* preach 582,587,1385,1393,1402  
**prechyng** *n.* preaching 1396  
**precious** *adj.* precious 1672  
**prelatys** *n.pl.* prelates 2395  
**presence** *see* **presens**  
**presens** *n.* presence 2138,3483 **presence** 1825  
**presented** *p.t.* presented 3386

**preson** *see* **prison**  
**presoner** *see* **prisoner**  
**prestes, prestis** *n.pl.* priests 634, 1989, 2461  
**prestis** *see* **prestes**  
**preuley, prevely** *adv.* privately 195, 362, 519, 746, 800, 918, etc.  
**preved** *see* **proved**  
**prevely** *see* **preuly**  
**primate** *n.* ecclesiastical primate 1409, 1420  
**prince** *n.* prince 659, 2254, 2290, 2296, 2723, etc.  
**prior** *see* **prio(u)r**  
**prio(u)r** *n.* prior 2100, 2104, 2915, 3214  
**priory** *n.* priory 2753  
**prison, preson** *n.* prison 138, 369, 467, 819, 925, etc.; imprisonment 3062  
**prisoner, presoner** *n.* prisoner 596, 1028, 1106, 1182, 2072, etc.  
**procession** *n.* procession 3378  
**proclamed** *p.t.* proclaimed 2959  
**procuring** *see* **procuryng**  
**procuryng, -ring** *vbl.n.* procuring 2320, 2421  
**promisse** *n.* promise 1591  
**promysed** *p.t.* and *p.p.* promised 1040, 1233, 1336, 1589, 1594, 2260, etc.  
**prophecy** *n.* prophecy 1521, 1522  
**prophecyed** *p.p.* prophesied 3277  
**proposed** *p.t.* proposed 2968, 3276, 3335; *p.p.* resolved, determined 1969, 3292  
**proteccion** *n.* protection 39  
**proud(e)** *see* **prowde**  
**proved, preved** *p.t.* and *p.p.* proven 1191, 3310  
**prowde, proud(e)** *adj.* proud 15, 547, 1815, 2416  
**purpose** *n.* intention 2356  
**purposed** *p.t.* intended 3091  
**put** *v.* put 48, 138, 368, 747, 818, etc.; give as charge 1799; *putte him to flyght*, put to flight 365; *putte down*, defeat 1551-2; *put vpon* suggest 1928; *put...in eleccion*, *put...in chose*, give a choice 2004, 3219-20

## Q

**quarell** *n.* bolt for a crossbow 2089, 2333; dispute 2503  
**quarter** *n.* quarter, measure (8 bushels) of grain 2454; *pl.* the four parts of a quartered body 2294  
**quartered** *p.t.* quartered 2300, 2549, 2641  
**quene** *n.* queen 13, 94, 171, 182, 1088, etc. **quenis** *gen.sing.* 1744  
**quere** *n.* choir (of a church) 3061

**quod** *p.t.* said 250,253,1001,1713,1929,etc.

## R

**raiced** *see* **raise**

**raise,reise** *v.* rouse, stir up (for the purpose of assembling an army)

174,1587,2468, 2546,2745,etc.; muster 2003; *p.p.* **raiced** 2521

**raised** *see* **raise**

**ranne** *see* **renne**

**renne** *v.* flow 2179; *p.t.* **ranne** 2247

**rather** *adv.* rather 759; preferably 761,3342

**rattes** *n.pl.* rats 3425

**raunsomid,raunsond** *p.t.* and *p.p.* exchanged for ransom 2073,3212

**raunson** *n.* ransom payment 2750,2835

**raunsond** *see* **raunsomid**

**raveschid** *p.t.* ravished 1245

**rea(l)me** *n.* realm 13,263,1178,1782,2788,etc.

**ream** *see* **rea(l)me**

**reason** *n.* reason 253,664,2288,2830

**rebawdes** *see* **ribald**

**rebuked** *p.t.* rebuked 26,1728

**receiued,receved,-yved,-vyd** *p.t.* and *p.p.* accepted 88,2548,3308; welcomed

1152,1392, 1496,2499

**received** *see* **receiued**

**recevyd** *see* **receiued**

**receyved** *see* **receiued**

**recordeth** *v.3s.pres.t.* testifies 2520

**rede** *adj.* red 990,997,998,1002

**redy** *adj.* ready 1960,3354

**regall** *n.* regalia 1673

**regaly** *n.* kingship 3129

**regent** *n.* regent 3485

**regnd** *see* **regned**

**regnd,re(i)gned** *p.t.* and *p.p.* reigned 177,190,215,220,225,439,etc.

**re(i)gne** *n.* reign 897,1139,1310,1535,1609,3436,etc.

**reigne** *see* **re(i)gne**

**reigned** *see* **regned**

**reise** *see* **raise**

**reyned** *p.t.* rained 301

**relesed** *p.p.* issued 575

**religion** *n.*; *men of religion*, monks, 2468,2745; *in religion* as a member of a religious order 2214

**religiouse** *adj.* religious 3377

**reliques** *n.pl.* relics 1524  
**remanent,-menaunt** *n.* remnant 325,923,1454,1994,2737,etc.  
**remembraunce** *n.* remembrance 609,1036  
**remembred** *p.t.* remembered 278  
**remenaunt** *see* **remanent**  
**remeved** *p.t.* removed 2477,3026  
**replenysched** *adj.* replenished 1514  
**repreve** *n.* reproof 2324  
**reputacion** *n.* good reputaion 2332  
**request** *n.* request 2304  
**rere** *v.* raise 610  
**rescowed** *p.t.* rescued 1168  
**resigne** *v.* resign 3145,3195  
**resiruaciones** *n.pl.* withholding of the services of the Church 2884  
**resiste** *v.* resist 1766  
**resonable** *adj.* reasonable 2495  
**rest(e)** *n.* peace 620,1144,3133; *have reste of*, be free of 141  
**restitucion** *n.* restitution 2136  
**restored** *p.t.* and *p.p.* restored 283,1896,2147,3242  
**retene** *see* **retene(w)**  
**retene(w)** *n.* retenue 3311,3417  
**retenew** *see* **retene(w)**  
**retorened** *see* **retourne**  
**retourne** *v.* return 635,2071,etc.2538;*refl.* 2866; *p.t.* **retorened** 3357 **retorned** 1172, 1630,1667 **returned** 378  
**reuerens** *n.* reverence 2246  
**reule** *n.* rule 322  
**rewardes** *n.pl.* rewards 3002  
**revell** *n.* revelry 3177  
**riall** *see* **r(o)iall**  
**ribald** *n.* scoundrel 2359 **rebawdes** 2932 **ryball** 2446  
**riding** *v.pres.part.* riding 2250; *p.t.* **rode** 2185,2374,3040,3398  
**ring(e)** *n.* ring 1886,1940,1942,1958  
**riot** *n.* debauchery 2403  
**risen** *see* **ryse**  
**riuer,ryver** *n.* river 149,152,179,180  
**ryal** *see* **r(o)iall**  
**ryall** *see* **r(o)iall**  
**ryally** *adv.* royally 1152  
**ryball** *see* **ribald**  
**rychely** *adv.* richly 2251  
**ryches** *v.3s.pres.t.* reaches 1083  
**ryght** *adv.*; *ryght so they did*, they did just that 921; *ryght scarsly*, barely 2563; *ryght well* very well 3394  
**ryght** *n.* entitlement 1205,1644  
**ryght** *adj.* just 1343; right (as opposed to left) 1926  
**ryme** *n.* rhyme 2324,2342,2439

**ryse** *v.* stand up 3279; *p.t.* **rose** rebelled, revolted 778,2906,3017,3269; *p.p.* **risen** 3205  
**rysing** *n.* uprising 2905  
**ryver** *see* **riuier**  
**ryverside** *n.* riverside 147  
**rode** *see* **riding**  
**r(o)iall, ryal(l)** *adj.* royal 1188,2361,2387,2991,3314  
**romaynes** *see* **romans**  
**romayns** *see* **romans**  
**romans,romayn(e)s** *n.pl.* Romans 510,522,551,553,558,etc.  
**ropes** *n.pl.* ropes 2756  
**rose** *see* **ryse**  
**rotes** *n.pl.* roots 1478  
**rounde** *adj.* *rounde table* Round Table 1192,1240,1251,1274,1296,etc.  
**rounde aboute** *adv.* on all sides 856  
**rowssed** *p.pl.* shriven 3389  
**rule** *n.* rule 1509,1521,3450,3451 *Rule of the king* 2968  
**ruled** *p.t.* and *p.p.* ruled 16,325,2482,2531,2579,etc.  
**ruler** *n.* ruler 807

## S

**sacrament** *see* **sacrement**  
**sacrement,sacra-** *n.* sacrament 1974,2339,2820  
**sai** *see* **sey**  
**said(e)** *see* **sey**  
**sailed,sayled** *p.t.* sailed 50,749,3105  
**saluacion** *n.* salvation 1589  
**same** *adj.* same 1072,1119,1373,1504,2958,etc.  
**sang,song** *p.t.* sang 3377,3382,3391  
**sare** *see* **sore**  
**sarsens** *see* **sarsyn(e)**  
**sarsenis** *see* **sarsyn(e)**  
**sarsyn(e)** *n.* Saracen 754,1064 **sarsens** 773 **sarsenis** 787 **sarzyns** 2067 **sersens** 2049  
**sarzyns** *see* **sarsyn(e)**  
**sat(t)e** *see* **sitte**  
**saue** *v.* save 1013  
**saue** *prep.* except for 576,2065,2332,2394  
**saue,save** *adj.* safe 2651,3126  
**save** *see* **saue**  
**Savoye** *n.* Savoy 2921  
**saw(e)** *see* **se**



**sawdeours** *see* **saw(e)deours**  
**saw(e)deours** *n.pl.* soldiers 2601,2606  
**sawtes** *n.pl.* surprise attacks 2324  
**saxon(e)** *n.* Saxon 836,907,920,1027  
**say** *see* **sey**  
**sayled** *see* **sailed**  
**scaped** *see* **escape**  
**scarscenesse** *n.* scarcity 1475-6  
**scarsly** *adv.* scarcely 2563  
**shake** *v.* shake 991  
**shall** *v.* shall 255,987,993,1007,1009,etc.  
**scheme** *n.* disgrace, dishonour 37,1668  
**schamed** *adj.* ashamed 1159  
**schamed** *p.p.* shamed 1545  
**schatering** *adj.* destructive 2342  
**sche** *3sg.fem.pron.* she 97,173,174,178,184,etc.; **her,here,hire** *3sg.pron.fem.obl.*,  
her 13,90,94,155,171,875,etc.; as possessive, her 16,17,32,42,56,etc.;  
**schefe** *n.* sheaf 2706  
**schepe** *n.pl.* sheep 1269,1403,2682  
**scheppardes** *n.pl.* shepherds 1953  
**schette** *see* **schut**  
**s(c)hewe** *v.* (make) manifest, reveal 1467,1618,1748; *3sg.pres.* **scheweth** 1931  
**scheweth** *see* **s(c)hewe**  
**schip(p),shippes** *n.* ship 48,54,153,406,742,etc.  
**schires** *n.pl.* shires 1373  
**schoes** *n.pl.* shoes 1824  
**schorte** *adj.* short 1012  
**schortly** *adv.* concisely 80  
**schott** *see* **shote**  
**schrife** *refl.v.* shrive 1831; **schryven** *p.p.* 1527  
**schryne** *n.* shrine 1963  
**schryned** *adj.* enshrined 1396,1756  
**schryven** *see* **schrife**  
**schuld(e)** *p.t.* should 35,97,98,135,141,etc.  
**schulder** *n.* shoulder 2899  
**schut** *v.* shut 2555; *p.t.* **schette** 3019; *p.p.* **schutte** 2108  
**schutte** *see* **schut**  
**scoles** *see* **scollys**  
**scolyon** *n.* scullion 1339  
**scollys,scoles** *n.pl.* schools 2852 *Scollys of Clergy* schools of learning 1400  
**scorned** *p.t.* scorned 1402  
**scottes** *see* **scottys**  
**scottys,scottes** *n.pl.* Scots 608,1167,1615,1619,1625,etc.  
**se** *v.* *see* 21,148,434,755,862,etc.; witness 1479, 2854; visit 1704,1723,1739,  
2961,3244, etc.; realise 62,561,1202,1570,1765,etc.; *Is.pres.t.* **se** 1930;  
*p.t.* **saw(e)** 21,62,148,434,561,etc. *see* 1570; *p.p.* **seyne** 1078,1100,1267  
**sen** 2854 **sene** 1479

**seale** *n.* seal 2622,3096  
**seased,seised** *p.t.* seized 84,172,297,694,702,etc.; *p.p.* 1286  
**seced** *see* sese  
**seche** *see* seke  
**secte** *n.* sect 3413  
**seculer** *adj.* secular 3377  
**secunde** *num.* second 248,260,327,462,794  
**see** *n.* sea 364,406,432,751,1159,etc.  
**seel** *v.* seal 3095  
**seg(g)e** *n.* siege 1105,2088,2323,2464,2465,2477,etc.  
**segid** *p.t.* besieged 3417  
**sei** *see* sey  
**seid(e)** *see* sey  
**seiden** *see* sey  
**seiled** *p.t.* sailed 1485  
**seint,seynt(e)** *n.* saint 582,676,680,767,1376,1384,etc.  
**seised** *see* seased  
**seyde** *see* sey  
**seyne** *see* se  
**seynte** *see* seint  
**seke,seche** *v.* seek 839,952  
**seke** *adj.* sick 1063,1070,1125,2034,3279  
**sekened** *p.t.* sickened 2398  
**sekenesse** *n.* sickness 3259  
**selanders** *n.pl.* men from Zeeland 2598  
**selle** *v.* sell 1477; *p.t.* **solde** 2420  
**seme** *v.* seem 812  
**sende** *v.* send 268, 519,627,645,659,etc.; send a message 133,625; *sent for* summoned 22,144,944,967,1359,etc. *sent word(e) to* informed 142,266,279,362,902,etc. *p.t.* **send(e)** 22,268 *p.p. and p.t.* **sent** 133,142,144,266,967,etc.  
**sene** *see* se  
**sensoure** *n.* censor 3390  
**sent** *see* sende  
**sersens** *see* sarsyn(e)  
**serue** *v.* serve 1931; *p.p.* **serued** served 2066 **sirued** 2453; treated 3192  
**seruice** *see* seruyce  
**seruyce,seruice** *n.*; *do...*, to become a liegeman 841; *devyne seruice* public worship 2109  
**sese** *v.* cease 2488 *p.t.* **seced** 1497  
**seth** *see* sith  
**sett(e)** *p.t. and p.p.* *sette...in pese* established peace 1178; *sette noght be*, had a low opinion of, had little faith in 2417; *sette (with)* erected (by) 1039, 1050 set about with 1672  
**sext(e)** *num.* sixth 936,3480  
**sey,sai,say,sei** *v.* say 382,442,488,737,813,920,1941,etc.; *p.t.* **said(e)** 97,99,247,249, 252,etc. **seid(e)** 27,29,32,409,761,etc. *p.t.pl.* **seiden** 124

seyde *see* sey  
 seyne *see* se  
 shankes *n.pl.* legs 2326  
 sharpe *adj.* sharp 3333  
 shereffes *see* sheryffs  
 sheryffs,-reffes *n.pl.* sheriffs 3024,3374  
 shertes *see* shirtes  
 shewe *see* s(c)hewe  
 shippes *see* schip(p)  
 shirtes,shertes *n.pl.* shirts 1441,2755  
 shote,schott *p.t.* shot 105,1574  
 sight *n.* spectacle 1923; sight 2552  
 signified *see* signifieth  
 signifieth *v.* 3s.pres.t. signifies 1002,1003 *p.t.* **signified** 1001,1079,1082,1087, 1089  
 siluer *n.* silver 1477,2246  
 sir(e),syre *n.* sir 254,836,987,1540,1929,etc.  
 sith, seth *conj.* since 151,1425  
 sitte,sytte *v.* sit 1193; sit in judgement 3257; *p.t.* **sat(t)e** 583,1222,2170; *satte in chere* occupied the bishop's throne, ruled 583  
 sydes *n.pl.* sides 3396,3418  
 synne *n.* sin 198,1489,1494,1527,1755,etc.  
 syre *see* sir(e)  
 sytte *see* sitte  
 skill *n.* knowledge, training 2471  
 skynne *n.* skin 856  
 slan *see* sle(e)  
 slayne *see* sle(e)  
 slan(e) *see* sle(e)  
 slepe *n.* on slepe asleep 41,317,1652,1949  
 slepe *v.* sleep 1953  
 sle(e) *v.* slay 98,195,764,921,948, etc.; *p.t.* **slew(e)** 58,137,143,296,314,339,etc.  
     **slow(e)** 43,107,613,815, 922,etc. **slowegh** 81; *p.p.* **slane** 109,117,556, 659,775,etc. **slayne** 135,151,161,177,332,etc. **slan** 2422  
 slew(e) *see* sle(e)  
 slow(e) *see* sle(e)  
 slowegh *see* sle(e)  
 smal(e),small *adj.* small 2741,2813,2819,2825,3388  
 small *see* smal(e)  
 smyte *v.* strike 1623;*p.t.* and *p.p.* **smyte** 3270,3307; *p.t.sg.* **smote** 559,568,819,1626, 1744,etc.; *p.t.pl.* **smyten** 2918 *p.p.* **smyten** 2525,2986,3059,3187,3188  
 smyten *see* smyte  
 smote *see* smyte  
 so(o) *adv.* so 37,47,55,80,852,etc.; *so that conj.* *see* **that**; 17,59,389,524,681,etc.; such 35,811; *so..as* 37; *who so* *see* **who**  
 socour *n.* support 2505; refuge 2763

**sodenly** *adv.* suddenly 146  
**sodome** *n.*; *synne of sodome*, sodomy 198  
**soke** *v.* suck 3430  
**solempnite** *n.* ceremony 1097  
**some** *det.* *see* **sume**  
**some** *quant.* some 411,1516,2119  
**somond** *p.t.* summoned 2271,2291,2701,3051  
**son(e),sonne** *n.* son 87,90,102,183,188,192,etc.  
**sone** *adv.* soon 156,270,516,561,692,etc.  
**song** *see* **sang**  
**sonne** *see* **son(e)**  
**sore** *adv.* fiercely 995,1208,1294; **sare** intensely 2440  
**sorow(e)** *n.* sorrow 115,2763  
**sory** *adj.* sorry 895,1651,2626  
**sottys** *n.pl.* sots 2343  
**soule** *n.* soul 2407  
**souereyn** *n.* sovereign 126  
**sowdene** *n.* sultan 2049  
**sowped** *p.p.* supped 865  
**space** *n.* time 1490  
**spaynardes** *n.pl.* Spaniards 2865  
**spake** *see* **speke**  
**speke** *v.* speak 871,1862,2481; *p.t.* **spake** 871,1256,1502,1709,2244,etc.; *p.p.* **spoken** 2815  
**spere** *n.* spear 3349  
**spiritual(l),spirituel** *adj.* spiritual 2112,2610,3303  
**spirituel** *see* **spiritual(l)**  
**sporte** *refl.v.* take one's pleasure, take recreation 147,1539  
**spouse** *v.* espouse 159,164  
**sprade** *see* **sprede**  
**sprede** *v.* spread 853; *p.t.* **sprade** 857  
**squier** *n.* squier 3185,3191,3361  
**stablisch,stablished** *p.p.* established 2153; brought into order 2235  
**stablished** *see* **stablisch**  
**stake** *n.* stake 3333,3347  
**stale** *see* **stal(l)e**  
**stal(l)e** *p.t.* stole 2457; *stal(l)e away/awey* withdrew stealthily 1068,1249,1305, 2838,3104  
**statutes** *n.pl.* statutes 2272  
**stedes,stedys,stedis** *n.pl.* steeds 1671,2251,2252  
**stedis** *see* **stedes**  
**stedys** *see* **stedes**  
**sterre** *n.* star 1073,1078,1080,1100,3223  
**stile** *see* **style**  
**still(e)** *adv.* still 140,2262  
**stode** *see* **stonde**

**stonde** *v.* stand 983; *p.t.* **stode** 962,1050,1624,1788,1823,etc.; *stonde in* be in a state of 1006  
**stone** *n.* stone 610,614,1038,1048,1060,etc.; *pl.* jewels 1672; *and see* **gonne stones**  
**story** *n.* legend 1267  
**strange** *adj.* foreign 2997  
**strangers** *see* **stra(u)ngers**  
**stra(u)ngers** *n.pl.* foreigners 604,831,3002  
**strenght** *n.* strength 338,1052,1061,1266,1449,etc.  
**strenght** *v.* strengthen 3053  
**strete** *n.* people of a particular street 3017; street 3397  
**strive** *v.* quarrel with 2024  
**stronde** *n.* shore, bank 748  
**strong** *adj.* strong 125,830,886,905,930,etc.  
**strongly** *adv.* strongly 1263  
**stuarde** *n.* steward 554,2983  
**stuffe** *n.* supplies 1203; body, group 2741  
**style,stile** *n.* title 3441,3442  
**suare,suore** *p.t.* swore 1143,1156,1973,1996,2339,etc.; *p.p.* **suorn(e)** 2005,2610,3144, 3146  
**subiectis** *n.pl.* subjects 36  
**submitte** *v.refl.* to submit 2139  
**substaunce** *n.* majority 1165  
**subtile** *adj.* subtle 2592  
**successours** *n.pl.* successors 1184,2144,2145  
**suche** *adj.* such 434,750,952,1932,2158,etc.; *pron.* such persons 896,2481,3132  
**suerde** *see* **suorde**  
**sufferaunce** *n.* indulgence 1829  
**suffice** *v.* suffice 838  
**suffre** *v.* allow 111,194,273,277,901,etc. suffer 761,938  
**sume,some** *det.* some 597,1618,1885  
**summe** *n.* sum 3010  
**suorde,suerde,sworde** *n.* sword 161,1209,1626,1632,2929  
**suore** *see* **suare**  
**suorne** *p.p.* *see* **suare**  
**suorne** *adj.* *see* **sworn**  
**supposing** *pres.part.* supposing 2740  
**suraunce** *n.* solemn pledge 1852  
**surely** *adv.* surely 941  
**suster** *n.* sister 17,32,33,42,1331,etc. **sustres** 254; *susteris sonnes* nephews 290  
**sustres** *see* **suster**  
**sworde** *see* **suorde**  
**sworn** *adj.* sworn 1783

## T

**table** *n.* table 2067; *and see* **Rounde Table**

**tailles** *n.pl.* tails 1403,1405

**take** *v.* take 12,40,104,155,178,etc.; capture 138,151,367,924,1968,etc.; accept 1649,1655,2134; *take to wife* marry 358; *take fealte(s)* take an oath of fealty 404,643; *take a treaty* make a treaty 2721,2813,2880,3437; *toke/taken to grace* granted clemency 2757,2989 *p.t.* **toke** 12,104,138,178,199,etc. **to** 155,1250 *toke vp a grete laughter* to burst out laughing 1916; *imp take* 1940 *pres.part.* **takyng** 1223,1484 *p.p.* **taken** 151,367,924,1968,2813, etc.

**taken** *see* **take**

**taried** *p.t.* tarried 3244

**taught** *see* **teche**

**taxes** *n.pl.* taxes 2702

**teche** *v.* teach 1386; *p.t.* **taught** 2403

**tell** *v.* tell 81,987,1001,1272,1664,etc.; determine 964; *3sg.pres.* **telleth** 1267; *p.t.and p.p.* **told(e)** 123,683,873,964,982,etc.

**tell** *see* **till**

**telleth** *see* **tell**

**temper** *v.* temper 949; *p.p.* **temperide** 984

**temperall** *adj.* temporal 2610,3303

**temperide** *see* **temper**

**tempest** *n.* tempest 366,750,1967

**temple** *n.* Temple 227

**templers** *n.pl.* Knights Templar 2426

**tennes,tonnes** *n.* tennis 3300,3316

**tennes balles** *n.pl.* tennisballs 3301

**than** *see* **then**

**thanked** *p.t.* thanked 729,1093,1631,1888,1955,etc.

**that** *conj.* that 14,78,139,265,331,etc.; *afterwarde that* after 55-6; *aftir/after that* after 229,284,286,302,1054,etc.; *bycause that* because 503,533,670, 1716,1719,etc.; *forbecause/forbycause that* because 353-4,1742,1760, 2580; *so that* so that 17,59,163,350,389,etc.

**that** *det.* that 78,151,175,180

**that** *rel.pron.* who, which 6,11,31,35,36,etc.

**that** *dem.pron.* that 62

**the** *def.art.* the 3,8,11,14,20,etc.

**the** *pron.* thee, you 2139; **thi** *poss.pron.* thy 960,1829,2326

**theder** *see* **thider**

**thei** *pron.* they 7,24,27,29,30,etc.; **their(e),here** their 123,324,759,1107,1405, etc.; **ther(e)** their 17,23,26,27,42,43,etc.; **here** their 123,819,1153,1266; **them**.them 22,23,26,28,43,etc.**the** 2388; **hem** them 8,9,111,130,136,etc.

**their(e)** *see* **thei**

**them** *see* **thei**

**then,than** *conj.*; (no) more than 247,249,1269,2009,2458; better then 316; rather than 759,3342  
**then(ne)** *adv.* then 51,139,152,181,185,etc.  
**then(u)s** *adv.* thence 112,202,730,1111,2793,etc.  
**theos** *see* **this(e)**  
**there** *pron.* there 3,69,302,321,750,etc.  
**ther(e)** *adv.* there 112,115,140,160,176,etc.  
**ther(e)** *pron* *see* **thei**  
**therefor(e),therfur** *adv.* therefore 179,198-9,431,1013,1310,1984,etc.  
**therfur** *see* **therefore**  
**ther(e)in** *adv.* therein 52,154,1790,2329  
**ther(e)of** *adv.* thereof 45,264,728,776,779,etc.  
**ther(e)to** *adv.* thereto 42-3,46,761,803,848,etc.  
**therewith** *adv.* therewith 3302  
**therin** *see* **ther(e)in**  
**therof** *see* **ther(e)of**  
**therto** *see* **ther(e)to**  
**thes** (these) *see* **this(e)**  
**thes** (this) *see* **this**  
**thi** *see* **the** *pron.*  
**thider,theder** *adv.* there 864,1041,1042,1105,1108,etc. **thidre** 2003,2349, 2491,2510,2618,etc.  
**thidre** *see* **thider**  
**thing** *n.pl.* things 1827  
**things** *n.pl.* stipulations 3220  
**thirde,thride** *num.* third 794,1332,1511,2140,2191,etc.  
**this,thes** *det.s.* this 1,9,31,50,66,72,etc.; *pl.* **this(e)** these 17,57,156,634; **thes** 282,457,687,961,etc. **theos** 2518 *dem.pron.* **this** 83,768,1309,1386, 1748,etc.  
**thoght** *see* **thought**  
**thon(e)** *see* **toon(e)**  
**thonge** *n.* thong 856,857  
**thoos** *see* **tho(o)s**  
**thoroght,thourght** *adv.* by means of 72,1067; **thorow** through 951,953,1791,2178,2669  
**thoroght out** *see* **thorought**  
**thorought** *adv.* throughout, everywhere 2651 **thoro(u)ght out** 1170,2766 **toroght** 2936 **torought** 3001  
**thoro(u)ght out** *see* **thorought**  
**thos** *dem.pron.* *see* **tho(o)s**  
**thos** *det.* those 906  
**tho(o)s,dos** *det.* those 322,679,928,1480,1578,etc. *dem.pron.* **tho(o)s** 906,2347  
**thorow** *see* **thoroght**  
**thother** *see* **other** *pron.*  
**thought,t(h)oght** *p.t.* and *p.p.* thought 245,744,799,800,808,1708,2626,etc.  
**thourght** *see* **thoroght**  
**thousand** *num.* thousand 3383; **thousandes** thousands 3425,3433



**thousandes** *see* **thousand**  
**thraldome** *n.* slavery 115,123  
**threw(e)** *p.t.* threw 569; *threwe doune* tore down (a building) 1577  
**thride** *see* **thirde**  
**throte** *n.* throat 316 *pl.* **throtys** 42  
**throtys** *see* **throte**  
**till,tell** *conj.* until 585,830,1374,2718  
**tirant** *n.* tyrant 685  
**tithinges,tithingys** *n.pl.* tidings, news 156,687,770,831,906,1998,etc.  
**tithingys** *see* **tithinges**  
**title** *see* **tytle**  
**tyme** *n.* reign 226,301,539,581,592,etc.; time 379,746,1012,1446,1521,etc.;  
     incidences 978; *on a tyme*, one day 124,972  
**tynte** *p.p.* lost 2441  
**tytle,title** *n.* title 1646,2007,2692,2794  
**to** *prep.* to 10,19,23,25,29,etc.; with 1704,1861; *inf.part.* 23,47,79,80,96,etc.; until  
     55,1423,1575,2097; as 166  
**to** *p.t.* *see* **take**  
**toched** *p.t.* touched 1790  
**tode** *n.* toad 2177  
**togeder,-gider** *adv.* together 7,18,302,324,390,1328-9,etc.  
**toght** *see* **thought**  
**toght** *conj.* though 139  
**togider** *see* **togeder**  
**toher** *see* **other** *pron.*  
**toke** *see* **take**  
**token** *n.* token 1034  
**told(e)** *see* **tell**  
**tonne** *n.* ton 3301  
**tonnes** *see* **tennes**  
**toon(e),thon(e)** *pron.* the one (of two) 507,834,955,990,1073,1800,etc.  
**torn** *v.* turn (away) 1821; *p.t.* returned 1160; *p.t.* turned into 2710  
**tornamentes** *see* **tornamentys**  
**tornamentys,-tes** *n.pl.* tournaments 1191,1220 **tournementes** 2991  
**toroght** *see* **thorought**  
**torought** *see* **thorought**  
**tother** *pron.* *see* **other**  
**tother** *see* **other**  
**toun(e),town(e)** *n.* town 224,241,441,571,580,651,etc.  
**toure** *n.* tower 345,2000,3000,3319  
**tournementes** *see* **tornamentys**  
**toward** *prep.* toward 21,749,866,1075,1076,etc.  
**town(e)** *see* **toun(e)**  
**trailbaston** *n.* part of a series of proclamations intended to curb the abuses of  
     sheriffs and bailiffs, established in 1305 by Edward I 2372  
**traitour(e)** *see* **tratore**  
**translate** *p.p.* translated 1525,1963,2207

**trapped** *p.p.* attired 1671,2251  
**tratore,-tour** *n.* traitor 567,1793,1798,1871,2295,2522,etc.; **traitour(e)**  
 2520,2580,2601  
**tratour** *see* **tratore**  
**trayn** *n.* weapon 2784  
**tree** *n.* tree 1574  
**treson** *n.* treason 775,797,1037,1081,2982,etc.  
**tresorer** *n.* treasurer 3306  
**tresory** *n.* treasury 2419  
**tresoure** *n.* treasury 1633; treasure 2036  
**trete** *v.* make a treaty 909,2156,2198,2691,2924,etc.; entreat 1621,2571  
**trety** *n.* treaty 1035,2721,2812,2880,3437  
**trew(e)** *adj.* true 820,2340,2841  
**trewly** *adv.* truly 1931  
**troage** *n.* truage, money given as part of an oath of allegiance  
 376,403,525,547,574,etc.  
**trobill** *see* **trouble**  
**trouble,-bill** *n.* trouble 1006,1007  
**trues,truse** *n.* truce 2352,2870  
**truse** *see* **trues**  
**trust** *see* **trust(ed)**  
**trust(ed)** *p.t.* trusted 1266,2008  
**trust** *n.* trust 1284  
**two** *see* **two(o)**  
**two(o)** *num.* two 145,192,250,332,1007,etc.  
**twolmonth** *n.* year 1664

## U

**vnarmed** *p.t.* assisted in removing armour 554  
**vncl** *n.* uncle 2946,2948,2948,3321 **vncl sone** cousin 716,2502,2697  
**vncl sone** *see* **vncl**  
**vnder** *prep.* under 989,3140,3231,3450,3451; under (protection) 39,3126;  
 subordinate to (a king) 2348,2506  
**vnderstode** *see* **vndirstode**  
**vnderstond** *see* **vndirstode**  
**vndirstode,vnderstode** *p.t.* understood 336,606,2599,2612,2646; *p.p.*  
**vnderstond** 1084  
**vnknown** *adj.* unknown 1725  
**vnneth** *adj.* only 2759  
**vnthakes** *n.* unthinks 2327  
**vnto** *prep.* unto 173,331,875,1525,1548,etc.; until 353,379,740,1521,1523,etc.  
**vnware** *adj.* unexpected 2343

**vp** *adj.* up 201; held up 1826,1926  
**vpon** *see* **vp(p)on**  
**vp(p)on,opon** *prep.* upon 10,63,76,90,146,2614,etc.  
**vpward** *adj.* upward 1641  
**vs** *see* **we**  
**vse** *v.* use 198,1502,2883  
**vse** *n.* use 1977

## V

**vanysched** *see* **vanysshed**  
**vanysshed,-sched** *p.t.* vanished 436,977,1947  
**variaunce** *n.* strife 2430-1  
**vaward** *n.* front lines 2736,3332  
**vengeaunce** *n.* vengeance 199,431,2574  
**venome** *n.* venom 2178  
**vertues** *n.pl.* virtues 1879  
**victory** *n.* victory 558,610,3491  
**virgines** *n.pl.* virgins 709  
**virginite** *n.* virginity 759,760  
**visage** *n.* face, facial appearance 1382,1712  
**vise,vyse** *n.* spiral staircase 346,3386  
**vitail** *see* **vitall**  
**vitall,vitail,vytaille** *n.* food 49,1203; supplies in general 1477  
**vy lens** *n.* violence 1854  
**vyrgyn** *n.* Virgin 540  
**vytaille** *see* **vitall**  
**void** *adj.* empty 411  
**voide** *v.* empty 2305,3355  
**vois** *n.* voice 3341

## W

**wage** *v.* hire 2601,2605,2652,2656  
**waies** *see* **wey**  
**waked** *p.t.* awakened 1950  
**walked** *p.t.* and *p.p.* walked 432,1948  
**walle** *n.* wall 492,1032,1119,1640,2231,etc.

**walschman** *n.* a Welshman 2297,2306  
**walschmen** *see* **walsch(e)men**  
**walsch(e)men** *n.pl.* Welshmen 2282,3219  
**wan** *see* **wan(ne)**  
**wan(ne)** *p.t.* won 2063,2066,2242,2328,2445,etc.  
**warde** *n.* custody 2221  
**warded** *p.p.* kept in custody 3103  
**wardens** *n.pl.* wardens 966  
**warse** *adj.* worse 354  
**was** *see* **be**  
**wassaile,wesseile** *n.* toast 869,2180  
**wasted** *adj.* wasted 413  
**water** *n.* water 569,1134,1135,1820,1821,etc.; body of (spring) 236; body of (river) 568,570,1817,2730,3457  
**way** *see* **wey**  
**we** *pron.* we 35,37,38,127,129,836,etc.; *vs obl.* us 34,39,40,41,840,etc.  
**wedd(e)** *v.* marry 5,90,155,380,718,etc.  
**weddyng** *n.* wedding 2764  
**wekes** *n.pl.* weeks 2238,3471,3475  
**welcome** *adj.* welcome 847  
**welcomed** *p.t.* welcomed 2579,3110  
**wele,well** *adv.* very much 251,384,1014,1879,1911; **well armed** well-armed 1207,2492; **wele borne**, well-born 37; **well-conditioned** well brought-up 265-6; **well knowen** well-known 960; **well seyne** seen by many 1267; **well stablisched** well-established 2235  
**wele borne** *see* **wele**  
**well armed** *see* **wele**  
**well-conditioned** *see* **wele**  
**well knowen** *see* **wele**  
**well stablisched** *see* **wele**  
**well** (*adj.*) *see* **wele**  
**welle** *n.* well 1135  
**wemen** *see* **woman**  
**wend(e)** *see* **wenys**  
**wene** *see* **wenys**  
**wenys** *v.2s.pres.t.* think 2325; *3p.pres.t.* **wene** 1311; *p.t.* **wend(e)** 564,1815,2442  
**went** 820  
**went** *see* **wenys**  
**went** *see* **go(o)**  
**wepyn** *n.* weapon 917  
**wepyng** *pres.part.* weeping 971,1544  
**were** *see* **be**  
**wered** *p.t.* wore 343  
**werk(e)** *see* **worke**  
**werned** *p.t.* warned 758  
**we(r)re,warre** *n.* war 80,321,1530,1615,2113,2196,etc.  
**werr** *v.* make war 76,290,387,640,643,etc.

**werthe** *see* **worth(e)**  
**wesseile** *see* **wassaile**  
**wex** *p.t.* became 14,159,256,270,687  
**wey,way** *n.* pathway 1367,1726,2761; manner 923,975,978,1889; will, intent 1091; along the way 394,2063; *pl.* **waies** streets 382  
**whan(ne)** *see* **when(ne)**  
**what(te)** *interrog.* what 96,407,715,833,870,etc. *rel.pron.* who 407,2442  
**wheder** *adv.* whether 1516,1643,2004  
**when(ne)** *conj.* when 11,21,24,30,177,etc. **whan(ne)** 118,397,415,450, 907; *rel.pron.* **whenne** 658,814,1178,1513,1652,etc.  
**wherby** *adv.* whereby 2314  
**where** *conj.* where 938; *rel.pron.* 74,147,583,837,932,etc.  
**wher(e)as** *rel.pron.* at/in which 1391,1395-6,1567-8,1756-7  
**whereas** *adv.* whereas 1391,1467,1939,3441  
**wherefor(e)** *adv.* wherefore 37-8,112,195,257,549,etc.  
**wher(e)of** *adv.* whereof 521,944,1917,2412  
**wherof** *see* **wher(e)of**  
**whete** *n.* wheat 2455,3393  
**whi** *interrog.* why 1919  
**which(e)** *rel.pron.* who 4,6,63,2041; which 51,245,725,1171,1218,etc.  
**whiche** *interrog.adj.* which 245,975,978  
**the which** *rel.pron.* which 91,1491,1672; who 3103,3419  
**whider** *adv.* which way 437  
**while** *conj.* while 38,856,998,1069,1118,etc.  
**while** *n.* while 120,998,1414,1500,2160,etc. *o* while at one time 996  
**white** *adj.* white 990,996,1003,1670,2251,etc.  
**white ffrere** *see* **ffrere**  
**whitsondai** *n.* Whitsunday 1914  
**whynne** *see* **when(ne)**  
**who** *see* **who(o)**  
**whom(e)** *rel.pron.* whom 1468,1747  
**who(o)** *interrog.* who 960,962,964,970,981,etc. **who** whoever 2253  
**whos** *rel.pron.* whose 301,678,1475,1603,1685,etc.  
**wikednesse** *n.* wickedness 2043  
**wikked** *adj.* wicked 431  
**wilde** *see* **wylde**  
**wildefire** *n.* wildfire (inflammatory substances used in warfare) 1023  
**wildernesse** *n.* wilderness 52,1171  
**wife** *see* **wyf(f)e**  
**wiff(e)** *see* **wyf(f)e**  
**will(e)** *n.* *see* **wyll**  
**will(e)** *v.* *see* **wyll**  
**wise** *n* *see* **wyse.**  
**wise,wyse** *adj.* wise 301,3451 *superl.* **wyset** 945  
**wist(e)** *see* **wyst(e)**  
**with,wyth** *prep.* with 24,38,40,48,79,338,etc.  
**with childe** *see* **childe**

**within** *adv.* within 120; *prep.* 1012  
**withoute** *prep.* without 640,852,1375,1893,2763; *adv.* outside 2624  
**withstode** *p.t.* withstood 762  
**witte** *see* **wytte**  
**wyfe** *see* **wyf(f)e**  
**wyf(f)e,wife,wiff(e)** *n.* wife 12,90,169,197,272,358,734,1112,1698,etc.  
**wylde,wilde** *adj.* wild 58; ferocious 433,2962  
**wyll,will(e)** *n.* will 67,711,715,724,1516,2102,etc. *adj.* *grete willed* wilful 15  
**wyll,will** *v.* will 34,126,127,129,838,etc.; desire 727 **woll** 841; *p.t.* **wold(e)** would 15,27,28,29,45,etc.  
**wyne** *n.* wine 2247,2258  
**wynne** *v.* capture 2326; *p.p.* **wonne** 1281,2443  
**wynter** *n.* winter 2718  
**wyse,wise** *n.* manner 16,251,612,723,914,etc.  
**wyse** *adj.* *see* **wise**  
**wysest** *see* **wyse**  
**wyst(e)** *see* **wotte**  
**wyth** *see* **with**  
**wytte,witte** *v.* know 715,833,945,981,1643,etc.; *to witte*, specifically 1235  
**wyttes** *n.pl.* wits 2824  
**wod(d)es** *n.pl.* woods 132,2112  
**wodes** *see* **wod(d)es**  
**wold(e)** *see* **wyll** *v.*  
**wolfes** *n.pl.* wolves 202,1269,2682  
**woll** *see* **wyll** *v.*  
**wolles** *n.pl.* woolens 2705  
**woman** *n.* woman 602,947,2903,3326,3393; *pl.* **wemen** 57 **women** 113,213,407,606, 681,etc.  
**women** *see* **woman**  
**wonder** *adv.* very 60,159  
**wonne** *see* **wynne**  
**wont** *adj.* accustomed 662  
**word(e)** *n.* notification 142,266,279,362,902,etc.; words 278  
**worke,werk(e)** *n.* work 950,983,988,989,992  
**world(e)** *n.* world 744,1188,2244,2887,2936  
**worschipp** *n.* respect 2791  
**worschipfull** *adj.* respectable 2872  
**worschipfully** *adv.* respectfully 220,341,440  
**worth(e),werthe** *adj.* worth 255,958,2172,2173,2175  
**worthi** *adj.* worthy 401 *superl* **worthiest** 1086,2587,2887,3501  
**worthiest** *see* **worthi**  
**worthiness** *n.* worthiness 1256  
**wotte** *v.* *3s.pres.t.* knows 959 *p.t.* **wyst(e),wiste** knew, realised 96,144,437,645,695, 2386,etc.  
**wounded** *p.p.* wounded 1303  
**wrath** *n.* wrath 172,1111  
**wrecched** *adj.* wretched 1828

**wrecches** *n.pl.* wretches 1488  
**wrenchens** *n.pl.* tricks, guile 2343  
**wryte** *v.* write 3095; *p.t.* **wrote** 18  
**wrongfully** *adv.* wrongfully 2698  
**wrote** *see* **wryte**  
**wroth(e)** *adj.* angry 21,160,256,355,550,etc.

## Y

**y** *pron* *see* **I**  
**yates** *see* **gate**  
**yche** *see* **iche**  
**ye** *exclam.* yes 2622  
**ye,yow** *pron.* you 125,126,250,254,255,etc. **you** 840; *poss.pron.* **your(e)** your 127,920,1004,1005,1010,etc.  
**yeld(e)** *v.* yield (sth.) 451,524,2132,2134,2685,etc.; surrender (s.o.) 1829,2840, 3241; to yield up 451,2685, 2754  
**yerde** *n.* yard 1820  
**yere** *n.* year 49,92,104,177,184,etc.  
**yerly** *adv.* yearly 2134,2145,3140  
**yet,yit** *adv.* still 633,859,872,1053,1502,etc.  
**yeven** *see* **gyf(f)e**  
**yf** *conj.* if 840  
**yit** *see* **yet**  
**ymage** *n.* likeness 1788  
**ymaginacion** *n.* cunning 2592  
**ymagined** *p.t.* plotted 3216  
**yolden** *p.p.* yielded 1156,1210  
**yolowe** *adj.* yellow 2492  
**yong** *adj.* young 118,498,504,798,839,etc.; *superl.* **yongest** 252  
**yongest** *see* **yong**  
**you** *see* **ye** *pron.*  
**your(e)** *see* **ye** *pron.*  
**your(e)selfe** *pron.* yourself 1002,1014,1082  
**yourselfe** *see* **your(e)selfe**  
**yoused** *see* **gyf(f)e**  
**yow** *see* **ye**  
**ys** *see* **be**  
**ysshu** *see* **isshu(e)**  
**yt** *see* **it**



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